HISTORY OF THE LODI SULTANS OF DELHI AND AGRA

ABDUL HALIM

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HISTORY OF THE LODI SULTANS

OF

DELHI AND AGRA

by

Abdul Halim, M.A. Ph.D.

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Dedicated

To the memory of my beloved father the late Maulvi 'Abdul Bāri who helped me and inspired me in the preparation of this work.

FOREWORD

The Lodi dynasty has not received its due from historians in spite of its outstanding contribution to our history. The collapse of the dynasty founded by Ghiyāth-ud-din Tughluq and the invasion of Tīmūr almost obliterated the Sultanate of Delhi. The mighty fabric of a proud empire had been undermined by civil strife, rebellions, incompetence of rulers and foreign invasion. The Saiyids proved utterly unequal to the task of fighting anarchy. Hindu chiefs, taking advantage of the helplessness of the Government, set themselves up as petty monarchs over their small principalities. The Rājpūts began to dream of a Hindu empire. The Sultān's writ did not run in the countryside. Revenue could be collected only by sending military expeditions. Villagers lost respect for authority. The Sultān was not able to protect the peasants, therefore they saw no reason to share the produce of their fields with the Government.

Within a few years of Bahlul Lodi's occupation of the throne, the situation began to improve. He restored order within his dominions and waged a successful war against the better-placed Sharqi

dynasty until he dispossessed them of their kingdom. A single reign saw the turning of the tide until, in Sikandar Lodī's reign, one again finds the administration in reasonably good gear. The restoration of good government and law and order produced a renaissance of learning, architecture, and poetry. The Sultanate once again began to command respect at home and abroad. The central authority was able to reassert itself and was on the way to restoring the earlier traditions of obedience to the Sultān.

If Ibrāhīm had not been tactless and if he had been more circumspect and less harsh, he could have succeeded in curbing the sturdy independence of his Afg͟hān nobles. Despite his shortcomings and thoughtless methods, he was making head way. When he marched to Pānipat against Bābur he commanded a large army, even though several of his leading supporters were in rebellion and the Warden of his north-west marches had been responsible for inviting the enemy.

The same Afg͟hāns who were defeated at Pānipat ultimately took their revenge at Qanauj. After decades of anarchy the Afg͟hāns built up an empire which was not uprooted even by the interregnum of the First Mug͟hul Empire. If the Lodīs had not been able to overcome the forces of anarchy the Muslim domination over Northern India would have been seriously endangered. But for the Lodīs, both Sher Shāh and Akbar would have

been impossible. Thus the Lodī period is one of the most significant periods of Indo-Muslim history.

My frienα Professor Halim has made a special study of this period. He has marshalled the facts for us and has given a readable account based on original sources. His work is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the period.

Sd. **(Dr.) I. H. Qureshi,**
(M.A., Ph.D. Cantab)

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The thesis entitled the History of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi and Agra was prepared while I was a young lecturer in the Department of History, Muslim University, 'Aligaṛh under the guidance of Sir Jadunath Sarkar of revered memory who was kind enough to look to the manuscript and make very valuable suggestions. It was submitted in 1938 and the award of the doctorate degree was made in the same year. It could not see the light of print since no good publisher was found at 'Aligaṛh. The script was thoroughly revised after my joining the University of Dacca as Professor and Head of the Department of History in 1948 and the University of Dacca agreed to print it in 1952 subject to the usual conditions. I had to wait several years till the new Mono-type press ordered by the Dacca University had been set up. I had to wait for some more years till the type with the necessary diacritical marks had arrived and the books submitted by teachers earlier had been printed. After completion of the necessary formalities the printing was begun in 1959 and had to be interrupted for some time on account of the printing of urgent works needed

by the University and also due to my not looking through the proofs in time, preoccupied as I was in routine duties. Mistakes here and there have occurred and I undertake full responsibilities for omissions and commissions.

The book has been dedicated to the memory of my father a very well-known Persian scholar of the Dacca town who died in 1944, nearly six years after I secured the Ph.D. degree. I learned Persian at his feet and had doubtful and difficult texts explained by him

I am extremely grateful to my esteemed friend Dr. I. H. Qureshi, Director of the Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi, and Vice-Chancellor University of Karachi for writing a foreword.

I am also thankful to my students and now my colleagues—Messrs. 'Abdul Momin Chowdhury, and Naṣīruddīn Aḥmad for preparing an index. My student Mr. Enamul Ḥaq helped me in preparing the blocks of maps and plan of the Battle of Panipat. The book in the process of printing had three Managers at the Dacca University Press. I am indeed grateful to all of them and particularly to Mr. Mesbahuddin Chowdhury for the patience with which he kept pace with my corrections and alterations. I owe thanks to Dr. A. H. Dāni, M.A., Ph.D. (London), my colleague and Reader in the Department of History, University of Dacca for his suggestions.

I shall be failing in my duty if do not mention how grateful I am to my partner in life (Mrs. Sarah Halim) for the encouragement I received all throughout from her and particularly for the facilities she provided for my studies at a time when no other family member was available on whose help I could depend for sharing the responsibilities of domestic life.

A. Halim,

List of Abbreviations.

Aīn, Aīn Jarr	Aīn-i Akbari by Abul Faẓl, Translated by Jarrett (Vol. II)
Bad, Badāuni, Muntakẖab	Muntakẖabut-Tawārīkẖ, 'Abdul Qādir Badāuni Bibliotheca Indica Series.
Dorn	Tr. of Makẖzan-i Afgẖāni, by Dorn.
Elliot	History of India as told by its own Historians.
Ferishta	Tārikẖ-i Ferishta, by Abul Qāsim Hindu Shah Ferishta.
Kẖulāsat	Kẖulāsat-ut-Tawārīkẖ by Sujjān Rāi.
Maāsir	Maāsīr-i Raḥīmī, by Abdul Bāqī Nehāwandī.
Makẖzan	Makẖzan-i Afgẖānī, Ni'matullah.
Mrs. Bev.	Bāburnāma, Tr. Mrs. Beveridge.
Tabaqāt, Tab Akb	Tabaqāt-i Akbari, Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakẖshī.
Tār Dāūdī	Tārīkẖ-i Dāūdi, Abdullah.
Tār Ḥaqqī	Tārīkẖ-i Ḥaqqi, Abdul Ḥaq Ḥaqqī.
T. K. J. L.	Tārīkẖ-i Kẖān Jahān Lodī, Ni'matullah.
Tār Mub Shāhī	Tārīkẖ-i Mubārak Shāhi, Yaḥya bin Aḥmad.
Tar Rashīdi	Tārīkẖ-i Rashīdi, Ḥaidar Mirza Dugẖlat Tr. by Elias and Ross.
Tār Sal Afāgẖ	Tārīkẖ-i Salātīn-i Afāghana, Aḥmad Yādgār.
Tār Sher Shāhi	Tārīkẖ-i Sher Shāhi, 'Abbās Kẖān Sherwāni.

Method of Transliteration adopted

ا	=	a	ش	=	sh	و	=	w
ب	=	b	ص	=	ṣ	ہ	=	h
پ	=	p	ض	=	ẓ	ء	=	'
ت	=	t	ط	=	ṭ	ی	=	y
ث	=	ş	ظ	=	z̧	ی	=	i
ج	=	j	ع	=	ʻ	ـَ	=	a
چ	=	ch	غ	=	gẖ	ـِ	=	i
ح	=	ḥ	ف	=	f	ـُ	=	u
خ	=	k̲h̲	ق	=	q	ـَی	=	ai
د	=	d	ک	=	k	آ	=	ā
ذ	=	z̲	گ	=	g	ـِی	=	ī
ر	=	r	ل	=	l	ـُو	=	ū
ز	=	z	م	=	m	ـَو	=	au
س	=	s	ن	=	n			

Urdu Alphabets

ٹ	=	ṯ
ڈ	=	ḍ
ڑ	=	ṛ

CONTENTS

HISTORY OF THE LODI SULTANS OF DELHI & AGRA.

CHAPTER I.

MALIK BAHLUL LODĪ

Ever since perhaps the dawn of history the migration of tribes living in the region of the Sulaiman mountains for settlement, temporory or otherwise, in the plain of the cis-Indus region, has been a regular feature of tribal life. Such movements increased from the time of the seizure of the Punjab by the Ghaznavids, and had increased manifold when the Tughlaq empire began to decline. The population of this region called 'Roh'[1] by the inhabitants, whether Afghān or Baloch, is chiefly migratory in character, moving to the hills at the advent of summer and coming to the plains at the beginning of winter. While staying in the plains they move far and wide in search of employment and pastures for their cattle, or as traders. They migrate with their families and cattle upto the Indus, leave them with a portion of the menfolk there in camps and cross the rever with merchandise and join their families on return, laden with

1. Roh (same as Koh) means a mountain whence the word 'Rohilla', that is, a mountaineer. For definition see App 203 p.

Indian goods, or their equivalent in cash and tre. to the hills before the beginning of summer. Such traders are called 'Pawindah'[1] who sometimes carry their ventures as far as Chinese Turkestan and the remoter portions of India.

In the last quarter of the 14th century A.D. one Afghān chief, Malik Bahrām by name, of the Sāhūkhail clan of the Lodi tribe which is again a branch of the great Ghilzai nation,[2] used to come to Mūltān from Balot[3] in the company of his brothers for occasional visits as a warrior-trader. His trade did not prove very lucrative, and following a quarrel with his brothers, a common incentive in the exodus of predatory tribes, Bahrām came to Mūltān, settled there by taking service under Malik Mardān Daulat, entitled Malikūs-Sharq Naṣīrūl Mūlk, who was appointed governor of Mūltān by Sūltan Fīrūz Shāh Tūghlaq, to keep off the Mongol inroads.[4] In those days of

Bahlul's ancestry.

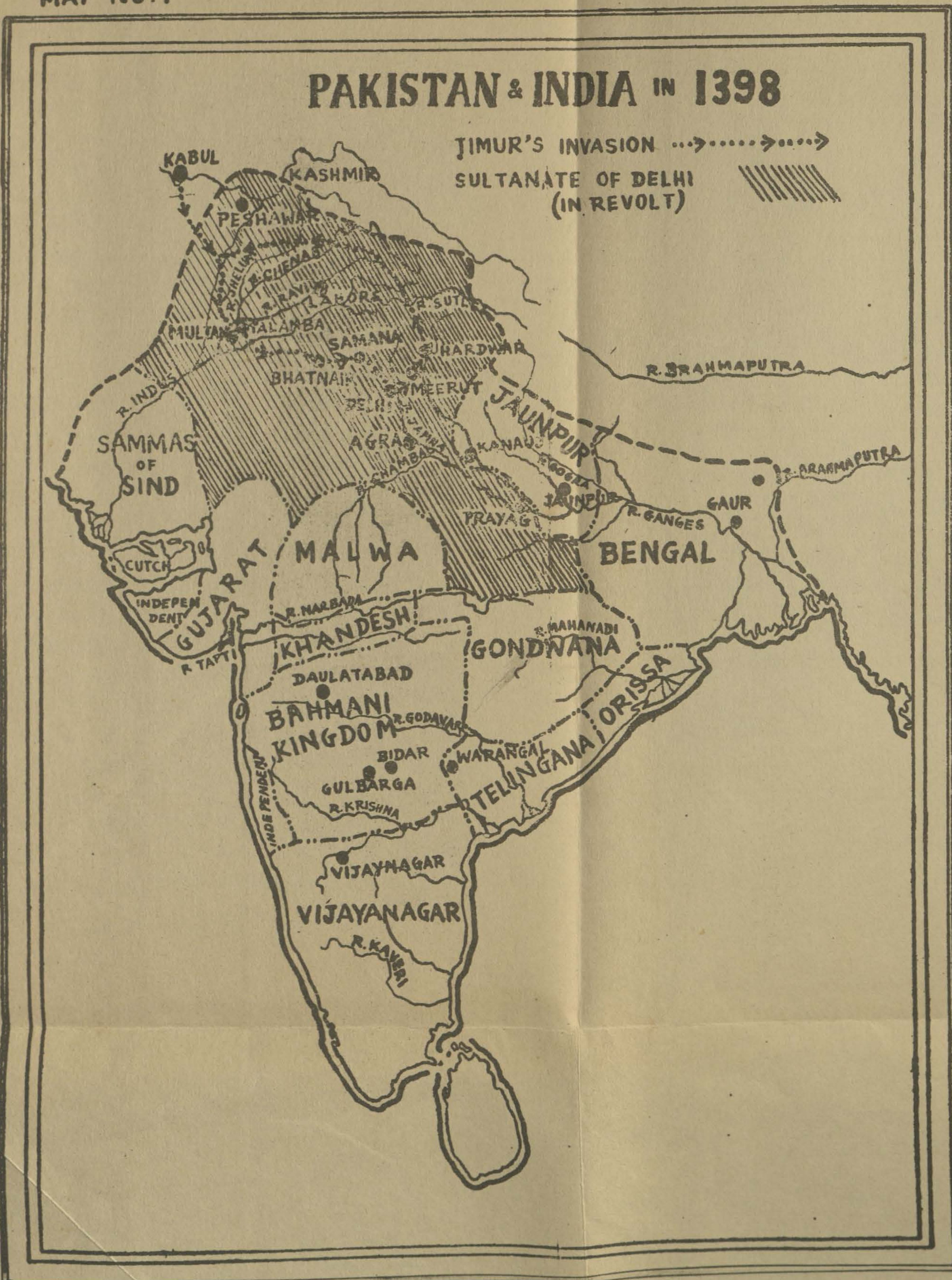
1. Cf. Ibbetson Punjab Census Report 1881 'Pawindah' from Pers "Paiwindah", a bale of goods or from Pushto 'Pawas', to graze. The number of such traders including those from Kābūl, Kandahār and other cities passing through D. I. Khān District alone, was in 1877, 76,000, in 1881 49,392

2. *Vide* Appendix.

3. Balot (32.25N and 71.2 E) is a village in the Dera Ismail Khān distt. of the former N. W. F. P., near British Balochistān.Its is also mentioned as being a Pargana in the Birūn-i Panjnad Sarkār, in Abul Faẓl's Āīn. *Vide* Jarrett, Tr. II, 325.

4. Cf. Tār Mūb Shāhī p. 133; Tab Akbarī, I p. 265 and Ferishta. Abūl Faẓl wrongly places the event in the reign of Maḥmūd Tūghlaq.

MAP NO. 1



PAKISTAN & INDIA IN 1398

steady decline of the Tūg͟hlaq empire, the Paṭhāns had a reputation for good soldiership. They had acquired great influence in the imperial army and the civil services. Malik Bahrām became the chief of a contingent of Paṭhān mercenaries he had gathered round him in the form of a tribal militia. After his death, all his five sons—Malik Sūltān Shāh, Malik Kālā, Malik Fīrūz, Malik Mūḥammad and Malik K͟hwājah stayed in Mūltān. Meanwhile the governorship of Mūltān changed several hands in rapid succession. After Malik Mardān's death, his son Malik Shaik͟h succeeded his father as the governor of Mūltān. On his death soon after, (Malikūs-Sharq) Malik Sūlaimān, the adopted son of Malik Mardān and after Malik Sūlaimān's death his son K͟hiẓr K͟hān, [the subsequent founder of the Sayyid Dynasty] became successively, the viceroy of Mūltān by the order of Fīrūz Shāh Tūg͟hlaq. The Delhi empire suffered a rapid decline after Fīrūz Shāh's death in 1388 A. D. and chaos was added to confusion by the invasion of Timūr. K͟hiẓr K͟hān who had joined Timūr was rewarded by the latter with the governorship of Mūltān and the Pūnjāb. Sūltān Shāh Lodi, son of Malik Bahrām who succeeded his father as chief of the Afghān mercenaries, distinguished himself in the service of K͟hiẓr K͟hān, being instrumental in capturing and executing Mallū Iqbāl K͟hān* the de facto ruler of Delhi and the protector of the puppet Maḥmūd Tūg͟hlaq, in the battle of Ajodhan 808 H/1405 A.D.

* For a ref. See Proceedings of Indian Hist. Congress, Allahabad 1938 p 126-131.

This event severed Mūltān and the Punjāb from Delhi. K̲h̲iẓr K̲h̲ān rewarded Sūltān Shāh with the title of Islām K̲h̲ān and put him in charge of Sirhind.[1] Thus placed in that influential position, he was able to provide for all his brothers. His brother Malik Kālā who had married his uncle's daughter, was given the jāgīr of Daurāla[2] under his jurisdiction, but it is doubtful if he had ever come to his charge. He remained in the service of Naṣīr K̲h̲ān, Governor of Mūltān on K̲h̲iẓr K̲h̲ān's behalf. Malik Kālā's wife died by the collapse of the roof of the house she was living in, in 814/1411 A.D. in Mūltān city[3] and since by that time she had reached an advanced state of pregnancy, her womb was cut open and the child was found miraculously alive. This posthumous child was Bahlūl, the future founder of the Lodi dynasty. Soon after, his father who had been deputed to ward off the Niāzi migration into the cis-Indus regions,[4] died in action against them.

Bahlul's birth and early career.

1. Sirhind (lit. 'Sar-ī-hind', the head of India) Sarkāı was a very big administrative division in those days. Cf. Āīn, Jaııette II, p. 295-6. Sıhind town (30.38 N and 76.27 E) is situated in the Amargaṛh Nizāmat of the former Patiala state, now in East Punjāb.

2. Doıāla or Daurāla in Sirhind Sarkār, (Āīn, Jarr. II, 296) is a village in Meerut Dist. U. P. on Meerut Sahāranpur road, 8 miles N of Meerut [famous for its sugars] Thornton Gaz. IV.

3. Āīn. Jarr. II p. 309; acc. to the author cf Hayāt-i Afg̲h̲āni, a very critical history, Bahlūl is said to have been born in Mohalla Kamāngarān. (Quarter of bow-makers.)

4. The Niāzi Afg̲h̲āns aıe related to the Lodīs; Ferishta M. U. Ms.

Bahlūl thus doubly orphaned was thrown under the protection of his uncle Malik Sūltān Shāh Lodī at Sirhind. Sūltān Shāh affectionately brought the child up and tolerated many of his childish pranks against the remonstrances of his wife.[1] The boy was called Ballū in derision by the Paṭhāns. When he grew to manhood and began to give promises of his future greatness, Sūltān Shāh gave him in marriage his daughter, Shams K̲h̲ātūn. The statement in the Tārīk̲h̲-i Dāūdī[2] that Bahlūl traded in horses which he brought to Sūltān Muḥammad Shāh Sayyid and was given instead Parganas which had slipped away from the Sūltān's control till a considerable portion of the Lāhore Sarkār came under Bahlūl's possession, stands not only unsupported but categorically denied by historians.[3] Secondly, Lāhore remained well under the control of Delhi so that even in 837 (1433) it was given to Malik Ilahdād Kālā Lodi,[4] then to Malik Sikandar Tuh̲fa and 'Imādūl Mūlk. Bahlūl chose the profession of a soldier, the most paying in those days. While yet in the protection of his uncle, Bahlūl once went to Sāmāna to pay respects to a holy man, Sayyid Abban by name,[5] with a few companions. The Shaik̲h̲ is said to have demanded two thousand

1. 'Abdūllah Tār. Dāūdī Bānkipore 5-9.
2. "Bānkipore Ms. p. 5-9.
3. Niẕāmūddīn, Ferishta and Nia'matūllah.
4. Kākā in Tār. Mūb. Shāhi is a misprint for Kālā.
5. Abban in Tabqāt, Ferishta and Mak̲h̲zan. Sāmāna town is in the former Patiala state. East Punjāb, (30.9 N and 76.15 E) 17, miles S. W. of Patiala town.

tankas for the purchase of the Delhi throne, whereupon Bahlūl brought out 1,300 tankas from his purse, and was congratulated by him [the Shaikh] as the future ruler of Delhi. Though jeered and taunted by his companions for his foolish conduct, the incident made a great impression upon him and inspired him with great ambition.

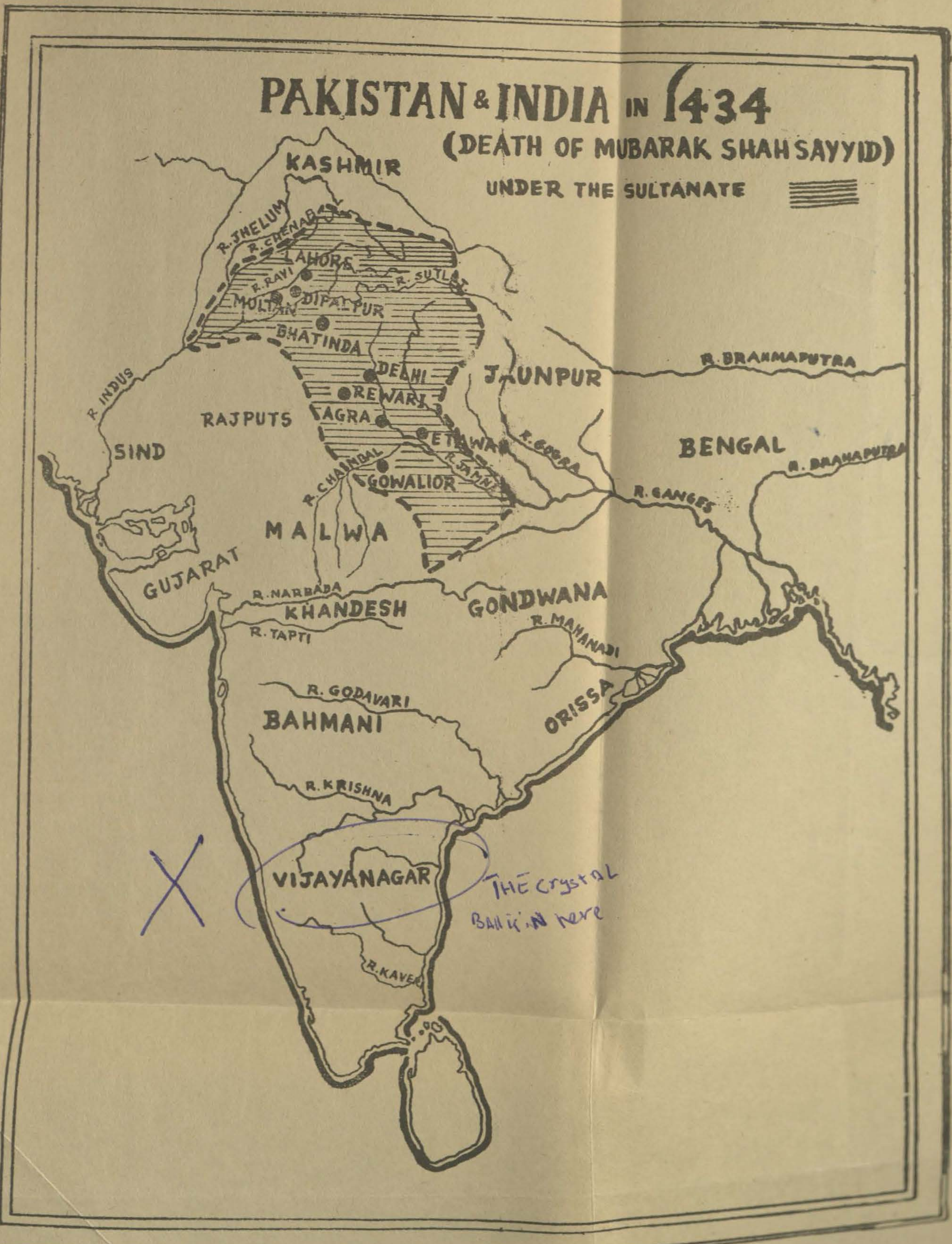
Bahlul nominated heir by his uncle.

Sometime before his death, his uncle and father-in-law made him the heir to all his property and position as the leader of the 12 thousand Afghāns under him,[1] inspite of the fact that he had a quite grown up son named Qūṭb Khān. After Sūltān Shāh's death (Rajab, 824 March, 1431 A.D.)[2] the Afghāns became split up into three parties—one party offering allegiance to Qūṭb Khān Lodi, son of Islām Khān (Sūltān Shāh), another to Bahlūl, a third to Malik Fīrūz, brother of Sūltān Shāh, who held a commission under Sūltān Muḥammad Shāh.[3] Bahlūl was wise enough to win over Malik Fīrūz to his side. Qūṭb Khān Lodi, unable to cope with Bahlūl, went to Delhi to implore the assistance of Mūḥammad Shāh Sayyid, advising him to expel the Afghāns who had mustered strongly in Sirhind. The Sūltān sent an army under Malik Sikandar Tūhfa, the Wazīr and Jasrath Khokhar,[4] hitherto a powerful rival of the Sayyid

Fratricidal war.

1. Ferishta Ms.
2. Tār Mūb Shāhi A. S. B. 208; Tabqāt A. S. B. I 276.
3. Ferishta Ms.
4. The Khokhars, to be distinguished from Gakkhars and Kākars, are Muslim converts from the race of foreign

MAP NO. 2.



PAKISTAN & INDIA IN 1434
(DEATH OF MUBARAK SHAH SAYYID)

Sūltān was confined to Delhi with a few villages within a distance of 20 miles, thus giving an occasion for the popular saying:

"Emperor Shāh 'Alām,
"(Holds only) from Delhi to Pālam."[1]

Nothing remained to the Sūltān except Delhi and Badāun. Gujrāt, Mālwa, the Deccan and Bengal had become independent soon after Timur's departure from India. The rest of the country was in the hands of the independent chiefs. The tract from Mehrauli[2] to Lādu Sarāi[3] was in the hands of Aḥmād K͟hān Mewāti; Daryā K͟hān Lodi held the district of Sambhal[4] upto the fort of K͟hwājah K͟hiẓr near Delhi. 'Isa K͟hān, the son of the Turk[5] held Koil (Aligaṛh) and Jalāli[6]; Qūṭb K͟hān, son of Ḥasan K͟hān, the Afg͟hān held Rāpri.[7] Rāi Pratāp, the

Sultan's rule confined to Delhi only.

1. Ahmad Yādgār T. S. A. Imp. Lib. (Būhar) Calcutta [Tārik͟h-i-Shāhī]; Beale, Miftāḥūt-tāwārīk͟h.
2. Mehrauli or Mindauli lies in 27.19 N and 77.58 E in Muttra district, U. P.
3. Lādu Sarāi a village near Delhi.
4. Sambal is the Head-quarters of the Tahsil of the same name in Moradabād distt. U. P.; U. P. Distt. Gaz. VII 253-70.
5. 'Isa K͟hān Turk-bachcha seems to be a relative, may be a son of Mallū Iqbāl K͟hān whose family was conveyed to Aligarh by order of Maḥmūd Tūg͟hlaq, after his death in 808 H.
6. Jālāli in Aligaṛh Distt. U.P. in 27.52 N and 28.15 E, 13 miles east of Aligarh.
7. Rāpri, now a small village in Shikohabād Parg. Mainpūri distt. U.P. in 26.59 N and 78.32 E, on the left bank of the Jamna.

Mainpūri Chauhān chief whose ancestors had migrated to Mainpūri District of U. P. after the Mūslim occupation of Delhi, possessed the ownership of Patiāli,[1] Bhongāon[2] and Kampla;[3] and Bayāna[4] was in the hands of Dāūd K̲h̲ān Auhadi. Bahlūl Lodi held in occupation the districts of Sirhind, Lāhore, Sunām and Hiṣār Fīruza upto Pānipat. Bahlūl launched a second attack on Delhi probably in 851 H (1447) but failed once again.[5] By the year 852 H (1448) 'Alam Shāh left Delhi and began to permanently reside in Badāun, after leaving two of his brothers-in-law[6] in Delhi—one as the city Police Prefect and the other as Superintendent of Public Works.[7] He had dismissed Ḥisām K̲h̲ān from the office of the Wazīr, because that loyal well-wisher was frank enough to criticise the foolhardy conduct of the Sūltān—once when the Sūltān had returned from Bayāna to Delhi at the false report of an invasion of his territories by Sūltān Ibrāhīm

Independence of Provincial chiefs.

1. Patiāli now a village in Parg. and tahṣil. Aliganj, Etah Distt. U.P. is 22 miles NE of Etah; sit 27.42 N and 72.5 E.
2. Bhongāon. is Parg. and Tahsil, Mainpuri distt. U. P. Bhongāon qasba lies in 27.17 N and 79.14 E about 9 miles east of Mainpūri town.
3. Kampla or Kampila, a parg. in Qāimganj Tah. Farrūk̲h̲abād distt. U.P. whose chief village is of Mahābhārat antiquity; sit. 27.39 N and 79.20 E.; U.P. Distt. Gaz.IX.
4. Biāna or Bayāna, Tahsil head-quarter Bharatpūr State, Rājpūtāna, is 25 miles S by SW of Bharatpūr city; sit 26.65 N and 77.18 E. Imp. Gaz.
5. Ṭab. Akb. I, p. 297.
6. Wife's brothers.
7. Badāuni, I. 305.

Sharqi, and on another occasion in 851H (1447) when the Sūltān expressed his intention of making Badāūn the seat of his government, on the pretext that he immensely liked its climate. But the Sūltān dared not eject Ḥisām K͟hān from Delhi. The two brothers-in-law of the Sūltān quarrelled with each other with the result that one was murdered. Ḥisām K͟hān utilised the opportunity for his own ends. He incited the citizens of Delhi to murder the wrong-doer and made himself practically the master of Delhi. The luckless 'Alāūddīn sought advice from nobles like Qūṭb K͟hān and 'Isa K͟hān and Rāi Pratāb (Deo) to strengthen his position. Bent on mischief, they advised the Sūltān to dismiss and imprison Ḥamīd K͟hān, his chief Wazīr at Badāun, for which they promised to add many Parganas to the crown-land. The Sūltān did accordingly.[1] Rāi Pratāp, one of the courtiers, just to avenge a family wrong,[2] suggested to the Sūltān to execute Ḥamīd K͟hān for which he promised to transfer 40 parganas to the crown-land. It was a tempting bait for a Sūltān whose authority was confined to Badāun with a few villages. He gave his consent to it.[3] Ḥamīd K͟hān was however, opportunely rescued from prison by his

Alauddin settles in Badaun.

Hamid Khan's dismissal & imprisonment.

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1. Ṭabqāt I 293; Rahmatūllah, K͟hūlāsat-ut-Tawarikh. Bānkipore.
2. Hāmid K͟hān's father had killed Rāi Pratāp's father in a war and had taken away Rāi Pratāp's mother. Cf. Ṭab. Akb. I, p. 297.
3. Ṭab. Akb. I, 293.

brothers. He fled to Delhi from Badāun with his custodian Malik Jamāl Muḥammad close at his heels. Ḥamīd K͟hān defeated and killed Jamāl K͟hān and came to terms with Ḥisām K͟hān[1] the usurper of Delhi whom he appears to have done away with (for, he altogether vanishes from history), and became the full master of the metropolis. He marched on the Delhi fort 854 H (1450) and took out, unveiled the wives and daughters of the Sūltān and captured it together with the royal treasures. The Sūltān pocketed this insult and postponed taking revenge from day to day on the pretext of the rains.

His escape to Delhi.

Ḥamīd K͟hān who was not a soldier, found himself in a difficult position. He had rebelled against his master and had insulted his harem and was nervous of the retribution. Secondly, there were more powerful kingdoms—Mālwa and Jaunpūr which looked wistfully upon Delhi, the Rome of India. Both the kingdoms were in the meridian of their power and glory and ruled by their most powerful kings,—Maḥmūd K͟halji in Mālwa and Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqi in Jaunpūr. Ḥamīd K͟hān hesitated in inviting Maḥmūd Sharqi because of his relationship with Sūltān 'Alāūddīn.[2] He did not consider it wise to invite the Mālwa king, because Mālwa was too far off and the remedy he required was to

Hamid Khan de-facto ruler of Delhi invites Bahlul.

1. Ṭab. Akb. I 293.

2. The exact relationship of Sūl Maḥmūd Sharqi with Sūl 'Alāūddīn cannot be definitely ascertained. He was certainly not the son-in-law of Sūl 'Alāūddīn.

be a prompt one. He invited Malik Bahlūl from Sirhind, because, he was the nearest[1] and in his opinion, less overpowering. Bahlūl came to Delhi with full force and occupied the city after concluding an agreement with Ḥamīd K͟hān.[2] What the condition of this agreement was, no body knows. Perhaps it appertained to a division of authority. According to Niẓāmūddīn he took the title of Sūltān Bahlūl immediately after the occupation of Delhi. But his position was titular; he was at best the commander-in-chief of the army. Ḥamīd K͟hān kept in his hands supreme authority in civil administration and was more powerful than the masterful wazīrs of the Sayyid kings, by virtue of his position, as the kingmaker and bestower of the throne. Bahlūl accepted a subordinate position and remained on the look out for a fresh opportunity.[3] He however wrote to Sūltān 'Alāūddīn at Badāun pretending that he had come to Delhi to punish the rebel Ḥamīd.

Terms with Bahlul.

Bahlūl, at the same time, began to pretend to be a very obedient and humble servant of Ḥamīd K͟hān, paying visits to him in his house for offering respects. He made it his habit to enter Ḥamīd K͟hān's house with a few select companions after leaving his guards at the gate. One feast day

1. Mak͟hzan Ms; Ferishta Ms.

2. Acc. to more reliable authorities the city was peacefully occupied and an agreement made before the keys were handed to him.

3. Tār Dāūdi, Bānkipore 14.

Bahlul was invited with his retinue by Ḥamīd K̲h̲ān. He instructed his companions to perform foolish acts in the presence of the K̲h̲ān in order to remove the fear of the Afg̲h̲āns from his mind. Some fastened their shoes to their waists, others kept the shoes in the balcony above Ḥamīd K̲h̲ān's head pretending to save them from thieves. Some demanded the beautiful carpets from Ḥamīd K̲h̲ān to make caps and fillets and send them to their children at home. When scents were brought, some began to lick them, others began to chew the rose leaves. When betel-leaves (pān) were served, they ate the lime first and when their mouth began to irritate they ate the betel-leaves by turning their hand round their necks. Ḥamīd K̲h̲ān was naturally surprised at their strange conduct. The wily Bahlul told him in reply, "They are foolish rustics and have little associated with (gentle) men and know nothing except eating and dying."[1] Ḥamīd K̲h̲ān only smiled at the outlandish behaviour of the Afg̲h̲āns and took no cognizance of them.

Bahlul effects a coup d'etat.

Meanwhile Bahlul began to assemble the Afg̲h̲āns in Delhi from far and near. One day on a similar festive occasion, he arranged a 'coup d'etat.' He took one thousand armed men[2] with him and entered Ḥamīd K̲h̲ān's audience hall, leaving the guards at the gate. As soon he was in, the Afg̲h̲āns, as instructed by him, forcibly entered claiming that they too as servants of Ḥamīd

1. Ṭab. Akb. I, 300.
2. Yādgār, T. S. A. Imp. Lib. Ms.

K͟hān were entitled to pay respects on equal terms with Bahlul. When they entered, two Afg͟hān soldiers stood by each one of Ḥamīd K͟hān's attendants. Quṭb K͟hān Lodi brought out chains and spoke as he handcuffed Ḥamīd K͟hān, "It is advisable that you should retire for some time. I dc not attempt your life lest I be ungrateful to my salt."[1] Ḥamīd K͟hān was sent to a prison especially constructed for him outside the city,[2] and was perhaps done to death, for he altogether disappears from history.

Bahlul crowns himself.

Thus Bahlul got rid of his master, took possession of his arsenals and treasures and on the 17th Rabi I, 855 (April 19, 1451),[3] he crowned himself in an hour considered auspicious by the astrologers,[4] assumed the title of Sultān Bahlul Shāh, and began to issue coins and have the 'K͟huṭba' read in his name.[5] After his return to Dipālpūr where he had gone probably to recruit a fresh army, he wrote a letter to Sultān 'Alāuddīn at Badāūn explaining his position in a diplomatic way. "Since I have been brought up", he wrote, "by your father, I will carry the business of the state which has gone to ruins, as your deputy and will not remove your name from the

1. Ṭab. Akb. I, 300.

2. 'Abdullah, Tār. Dāūdī Bānkipore Ms. p. 18.

3. Ṭab. Akb. I; p. 300, followed by Nia'matullah and 'Abdullah.

4. Mak͟hzan M. U. Ms. p. 80.

5. Acc. to Nia'matullah, 'Abdullah, and Yādgār Bahlul sat on the throne after the overthrow of Ḥamīd K͟hān.

'K̲h̲uṭba.'[1] Bahlul kept on associating Sultān 'Alāuddīn's name along with his own in the 'K̲h̲uṭba,' left him undisturbed in a tract confined to Badāūn and its appertenances between the hills and the Ganges as far as K̲h̲airabād[2] till 'Alāuddīn's death in 883 H (1478 A.D.).[3] Though it was a poor consolation for the loss of a kingdom, he had no recourse left but to recognise the 'fait accompli'. He wrote to Bahlul in reply, "Since my father called you son, I consider you as my elder brother, and leaving the affairs of the kingdom in your hands, I shall content myself with Badāun only."

Correspondence with Sultan 'Alauddin.

It was in this way that Bahlul received a legal patent for his usurpation. At the time of his capture of Delhi he had ten sons--Bārbak Shāh, Niẓām K̲h̲ān, Mubārak K̲h̲ān, 'Alam K̲h̲ān (later known as Sultān 'Alāuddīn), K̲h̲wāja Bāyazīd, Jamāl K̲h̲ān, Miān Yāqūb, Fatḥ K̲h̲ān, Miān Mūsa and Jalāl K̲h̲ān.[4]

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1. Ṭabaqāt I, 301.
2. Badāuni I, 305.
3. Ferishta alone gives this correct date. Cf. Wright : Sultāns of Delhi, their coinage and metrology, p. 242.
4. All historians say that he had nine sons but give ten names.

CHAPTER II

SULTĀN BAHLUL LODĪ
(855—894 H. 1451—89 A.D.)

At the time of his coronation Bahlul was the ruler of Delhi with portions of the Punjāb only.

Bahlul marches to Multan.

Soon after it, Bahlul left his eldest son, prince Bāyazīd, with a few nobles in charge of Delhi, and marched in 855 H./1451 A.D.,[1] towards Multān for conquering that province which in 854H./1450 A.D. had become independent under Shaikh Yūsuf Quraishi, a descendant of Shaikh Bahāuddīn.[2] Bahlul was naturally anxious to subjugate that province, firstly because it was of immense strategic importance commanding one of the gate-ways of India; secondly a strong and independent Multān would menace the Lodī possessions in the Punjāb, and

1. Makhzan M. U. p. 80.

2. Sayyid Bahāuddīn Zakaria Quraishy, a celebrated saint of the Suhrawardia Order was born in 578/1182 in Baghdād and later came to Multān and died there in 666/1258. He was a disciple of Shaikh Shihābuddīn Suhrawardy and a contemporary of Shaikh Farīduddīn Ganji Shakr. *Vide* Akhbār-ul Akhyār, by 'Abdul Haq Haqqi (written in the reign of Akbar), Delhi, Pub. 1282 H p. 30-1; Ferishta, Lucknow, II. 404-9.

thirdly, he considered Multān as a province legitimately belonging to the empire of Delhi. Bahlul, however, had to return from Dīpālpūr without going to Multān,[1] on the receipt of information of an attack on Delhi by Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqī, king of Jaunpūr.[2] Some of the nobles of Sultān 'Alāuddīn invited Maḥmūd Sharqī who was related to Sultān 'Alāuddīn[3] to deliver Delhi. Accordingly, Maḥmūd Sharqī besieged Delhi with a huge army in 856 H./1452[4] and drove prince Bāyazīd to the Delhi fort which he closely invested. As there were few soldiers in Delhi, Bībī Matto[5] the widow of Sultān Shāh Lodī and Bahlul's mother-in-law, clad the Afg̲h̲ān ladies of the harem in men's attire and stationed them in the parapet of the fort to deceive the enemy by a false show of numbers. It appears that the besieged being hard pressed by the invaders, opened negotiations for the surrender of the fort. On an appeal being made to Daryā K̲h̲ān Lodī, the commander of the Sharqī forces, of his duties to his kith and kin, Daryā K̲h̲ān Lodī was won over to the Lodī side

But called back.

Siege of Delh by Mahmud Sharqi 856/1452.

1. 'Abbās Sherwānī is wrong in asserting that Bahlul was invading Multān to place Shaik̲h̲ Yūsuf on the throne on this occasion, because Shaik̲h̲ Yusūf was deposed in 856 H.

2. 847-862H./1443-1457.

3. *Vide* Foot-note on p. 15.

4. Ṭab. Akb. I, p. 301.

5. Yādgār and 'Abdullah.

and began to make delays in the capture of the fort by pointing to his master that since Bahlul was marching towards Delhi in full force, the fort would automatically surrender if Bahlul was intercepted and defeated. At the suggestion of Daryā K͟hān Lodī, Sultān Maḥmūd detached Fatḥ K͟hān of Herāt from the main army and sent him along with Daryā K͟hān Lodī towards Pānipat with 30 thousand cavalry and 30 elephants.

Bahlul circulates an appeal to the Afghans.

Meanwhile on learning the news of the investment of Delhi, Bahlul had circulated an appeal to the Afg͟hān chiefs of India and Roh[1] emphasising upon the national danger, and dangling before them the rich vista, of conquering a rich country like India and carving for each one of the participants territories and jāgirs to one's heart's wishes.[2] He met with a warm response so that the Afg͟hāns began to pour out in large numbers. Thus strengthened, he marched for the relief of Delhi and met the Sharqī forces at Narela, about 17 miles from Delhi. At the outset, the Pathāns captured a number of pack animals from pasture ground belonging to the Sharqīs. Bahlul split his army into three divisions and led the attack. Quṭb K͟hān, son of Sultān Shāh Lodī who was an expert archer, disabled the elephant which was leading the attack with Fatḥ K͟hān Harwī, the commander-in-chief mount-

1. *Vide* Appendix. In a narrow sense it means the hil region round the Sulaimān mountain.

2. Tūhfahāti Akbar Shāhi, 'Abbās Sherwānī, Habibganī Ms.

ed on it. Quṭb K̲h̲ān Lodī harangued Daryā K̲h̲ān Lodī in these words, "Your mothers and sisters are besieged in the fort. Does it behove you to fight from the side of the enemy and to be indifferent to save your honour?"[1] Daryā K̲h̲ān Lodī left the field on condition that he would not be pursued. On the treacherous withdrawal of Daryā K̲h̲ān, the Sharqī army was defeated and Fatḥ K̲h̲ān was taken prisoner. His head was severed by Rāi Karan of Khor whose brother Rāi Pithora was executed by Fatḥ K̲h̲ān. The shattered Sharqī forces fled and conveyed the bad tidings to Sultān Maḥmūd engaged in besieging the Delhi fort. The Sultān frightened at the confusion of his army and learning that he had been made the victim of a treachery, broke his camp and retreated to Jaunpūr.

Treachery of Darya Khan Lodi and the Sharqi defeat in the battle of Narela 856/1452.

The failure of the Sharqī invasion of Delhi is a significant event in the history of India. The Sultanate of Delhi escaped the change of a dynasty. It strengthened Bahlul's position and freed him from the nightmare of a Sharqī occupation of Delhi.

Significance of Sharqi defeat.

Thus secure from danger he could look beyond the necessity of self-preservation and defence. He now turned his attention for the subjugation of the territories lost to the Sultanate and held by practically independent chiefs. He first marched on

1. Ṭab. Akb. I, 301.

Mewāt[1] whose chief Aḥmad K̲h̲ān Mewāti offered submission by surrendering seven 'parganas' and deputing his uncle Mubārak K̲h̲ān as a hostage to Bahlul. Aḥmad K̲h̲ān was permitted to retain the rest of his possession. From Mewāt the Sultān went to Baran (Balandshahr). Daryā K̲h̲ān Lodī the governor of Saṃbhal submitted,[2] and made a present of seven 'parganas.' From Sambhal he marched to Kol (Koil, Aligaṛh), held by 'Isa K̲h̲ān Tūrkbachcha and allowed him to retain his possession on his submission. He next marched against Burhānabād,[3] "near Mārhaṛa," which he left in possession of Mubārak K̲h̲ān, governor of Sakīt.[4] Proceeding thence to Bhongāon, he accepted the submission of its Chauhān Governor Rāi Pratāp. Marching on Rāprī he besieged Quṭb K̲h̲ān, son of Ḥasan K̲h̲ān who stood to oppose him after betaking himself to the fort. The fort was stormed and conquered. Quṭb K̲h̲ān was pardoned and reinstalled in his jāgir on the recommendation of K̲h̲ān Jahān. He then proceeded to Etāwah and secured the submission of its governor.[5]

Bahlul reduces the Provincial chiefs to submission.

1. An ill-defined tract south of Delhi and including parts of the districts of Muttra and Gurgāon, most of the Alwar and a part of the Bhartpūr State, so called after the Meos, Cf. Imp Gaz. Vol. 17 p. 313.

2. Daryā K̲h̲ān Lodī after his desertion to the Lodīs had not submitted to Bahlul.

3. Probably it does not exist now, may be Sikandar Rāo named after Sikandar Lodī subsequently.

4. Sakīt, Sakeet in Etah district, U. P., 10 miles SE to Etah town in 27.27 N and 78.50 E.

5. All these conquests must have taken at least 3 years to finish. *i.e.* 856-59H./1452-53/54.

Bahlul's conquest of Etāwah whose governor was a Sharqī vassal precipitated a conflict between the Delhi and Sharqī kingdoms. Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī on hearing about Bahlul's annexation of Etāwah, marched upon him at Etāwah. After an indecisive battle on the first day (about 860H./1455) peace was concluded between the parties on the second day through the mediation of Quṭb Kẖān Lodī and Rāi Pratāp on the following terms,—that whatever territory was in the hands of Sultān Mubārak Shāh (Sayyid) of Delhi, should belong to Bahlul and whatever was in the possession of Sultān Ibrāhim of Jaunpūr, should belong to Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī, that Bahlul should return the 7 elephants captured in the battle of Narela (856/1452) and lastly Shamsabād[1] should be taken away after the rains from Jūnā Kẖān, its governor on behalf of Maḥmūd Sharqī and be transferred to Bahlul. These terms being accepted by both the parties the two Sultāns departed to their respective metropolis.[2]

Second encounter with Jaunpur

Peace erms.

After the rains Bahlul wrote to Jūnā Kẖān to hand over Shamsabād to Rāi Karan, his own nominee, in accordance with the treaty stipulations. Jūnā Kẖān refused compliance whereupon Bahlul marched on Shamsabād (about 861/1456), forcibly ejected Jūnā Kẖān, and handed it over to Rāi

Third clash with Jaunpur.

1. Shamsadbād town, 18 miles N.W of Farrūkhabād in Farrūkhabād district U.P. founded by Shamsūddīn Iltūtmish (27.32 N and 79.28 E.); Ṭab. Akb. I p. 301.

2. Ṭab. Akb. I P, 302, 303.

Karan. Jūnā K̲h̲ān asked for assistance from the Jaunpūr court. Sultān Maḥmūd repentant of the previous terms,[1] with reference to Shamsabād, broke the treaty by attacking Bahlul's nominee in that town. Quṭb K̲h̲ān and Daryā K̲h̲ān Lodī made a night attack on the Sharqī army. Quṭb K̲h̲ān Lodī's horse having stumbled, he was made a prisoner and sent to Jaunpūr where he remained for seven months in captivity.[2] Bahlul left prince Jalāl K̲h̲ān and Prince Sikandar to render assistance to Rāi Karan who was defending Shamsabād fort and himself marched upon Sultān Maḥmūd. At this juncture Sultān Maḥmūd fell ill suddently, probably of an epidemic and died in 862/1457. Bībī Rājī, widow of Maḥmūd Sharqī,[3] placed her own

Battle and treaty of Shamsabad 861-2/1456-7.

1. Ferishta Ms.

2. The "seven years' captivity" is wrong somewhere at the root. I examined all available Ms. sources including the Ṭab. Akb. Ms. written in 1003/1596 but found it everywhere. Since the event occurred in 862 H. *i.e.* the year of Maḥmūd Sharqī's death, and his son and successor Muḥammad Sharqī ruled about five months (Cf. Ṭabaqāt III p.284), and Qūṭb K̲h̲ān was released on the accession of Ḥusain Shāh, Muhammad Shah's successor Qūṭb K̲h̲ān's period of captivity comes to 7 months only. هفت ماه in Fershta I, Newalkishore, P 176.

3. Nia'matūllah (Mak̲h̲zan and T. K. J. L.), has misled many historians by his statement

درین اثنا سلطان محمود رخت هستی بر بست بی بی راجی مادراو

شاهزاده بهیکهن خانرا بر سریر سلطنت جلوس داد ـ

Translated literally, it would read as 'During this time Sultān Maḥmūd died. Bībī Rājī, his mother placed her own son, Bhikhān K̲h̲ān on the throne,

What Nia'matūllah means is this that Bībī Rājī placed her own son, Prince Bhikhan K̲h̲ān on the throne and not that she was the mother of Maḥmūd Sharqī; she was his (Maḥmūd Sharqīs) wife.

son, Prince Bhikhan Khān on the throne with the concurrence of the chief nobles. The new king took the title of Muḥammad Shāh. The war with Bahlul was terminated through the mediation of the nobles of both the parties. Once more a treaty was concluded on the condition that whatever territory was in Maḥmūd Sharqī's hand should belong to Muḥammad Shāh and whatever belonged to Sultān 'Alāūddīn ('Alam Shāh) should remain in Bahlul's possession. Both the kings departed to their own capitals.

Shams Khatun's remonstrance.

When Bahlul was approaching Delhi, his wife Shams Khātūn sent a threatening message in these words, "As long (my brother) Quṭb Khān remains in captivity, sleep and rest to the Sultān are unlawful"[1] Bahlul was greatly affected by this petti-coat remonstrance and instead of coming to Delhi retraced his steps from Dankaur,[2] some 34 miles east of Delhi, in the Doāb and marched against Muḥammad Shāh, who anticipating an attack, had driven Rāi Karan from Shamsabād, and had placed the latter town in the hands of Jūnā Khān. Rāi Pratāp too who was Bahlul's vassal, had joined Mūḥammad Shāh for fear of losing his jāgīr. Muḥammad Shāh reached Saresti by forced marches and Bahlul encamped at Rāprī near Saresti.[3] Skirmishes lasted

1. Ṭab. Akb. I, p. 304.

2. Dankaur is a town in Sikandrabād tahsil, Buland-shahr district, U. P. 34 miles east of Delhi. Imp. Gaz.

3. Saresti or Sirsūti may be Sirsaganj town on the bank of the Sirsa river, in Etāwah distt, U. P. Ibn Batūta (III 142-3) describes it as a big town on the bank of the Saresti river.

between the two armies for several days without any decisive results. At this juncture, Muḥammad Shāh who had earned unpopularity by his cruelty and haughtiness, wrote from Saresti camp to the Kotwāl of Jaunpūr to execute his brother Prince Ḥasan K͟hān and Quṭb K͟hān Lodī both of whom were rotting in prison. The Kotwāl expressed his helplessness in the matter as Bībī Rājī was looking after them. Sultān Muḥammad wrote to his mother requesting her to see him in connexion with a consultation for arranging a reconciliation with his brother Ḥasan K͟hān, and pretended to assure her that he would give him a portion of the kingdom.[1] When she had unsuspectingly proceeded and come as far as Kanauj, she heard the news of the execution of prince Ḥasan K͟hān. She hastened to Jaunpūr after offering condolence at Kanauj and saved Quṭb K͟hān by taking him under her protection[2]. Muḥammad Shāh wrote a taunting letter to his mother not to bewail the death of the princes individually but to do it collectively as a similar fate awaited them all.[3] Upon this the Indian Irene made up her mind to take revenge. She secretly wrote to princes Ḥusain K͟hān and Jalāl K͟hān to desert from the Sultān's army and come over to Jaunpūr. On the pretext that Bahlul was contemplating a night-assault on the Sharqī army which had to be prevented, prince Ḥusain K͟hān separated

Battle of Saresti.

Muhammad Sharqi executes his brother.

Muhammad Shah deserted by his brothers.

1. Ṭab. Akb. I, P. 304.
2. Yādgār, Tār, Sal. Afāg͟h (Buhar Ms.) p. 125.
3. Ṭab. Akb. I, p. 304.

from his brother Muḥammad Shāh with 30 thousand cavalry and 30 elephants and took up his position on the bank of the Jhirna,[1] a tributary of the Jumna and sent instructions to prince Jalāl K͟hān to join him there. Ḥusain K͟hān left the place and went to Jaunpūr presuming that Jalāl would join him there. Bahlul coming to know of the plot posted an army at the appointed spot on the bank of the Jhirna with the consequence that Jalāl K͟hān fell into the trap and was taken prisoner. He was sent to Delhi and kept as a hostage for Quṭb K͟hān Lodī. Thus weakened by the desertion of his brother, Muḥammad Shāh fled from the field of battle and was pursued by Bahlul up to the bank of the Ganges. Prince Ḥusain K͟hān on reaching Jaunpūr was placed on the throne by Bībī Rājī in 862 H/1457 A.D. with the title of Ḥusain Shāh.[2] He sent an army under Malik Mubārak Gang and Malik 'Ali Gujrātī against Muḥammad Shāh. The latter, on hearing the news of the approach of his brother's army, fled towards the east, but was overtaken at the Rājgīr ford.[3] He took refuge with about one hundred mounted soldiers in a garden. The armour-bearer of Mūḥammad Shāh having been bribed by Bībī Rājī, removed the metal-

Husain Khan is placed on Jaunpur throne bv Bibi Raji.

1. The Jhirna joins the Jumna from the north near Shāhdara after passing through Bulandshahr and Aligaṛh districts. U. P. Distt. Gaz. Āgrā.

2. Ṭab. Akb. III, p. 283.

3. Rājgīr ford is 3 miles south-east of Kanauj on the bank of the Kālinadi. Fuhrer, Arch Sur of Ind. Rep. Vol. II New Series, p. 83.

points from the arrows, thus depriving him of the use of the weapon in handling which he was peerless. He fought with great heroism with the sword till he received a mortal wound in the throat.[1]

Husain Shah's treaty with Bahlul.

Thus rid of his brother, Ḥusain Shāh made a truce with Bahlul on the status quo basis—*i.e.* on the simple condition that none should encroach on the other's territories for a period of 4 years, and should be content with the frontier secured by treaty. A gesture towards friendly relations was made when both the Sultāns released their respective prisoners —Quṭb K͟hān and Jalāl K͟hān, with presents.[2]

Bahlul's treacherous attack on Shamsabad 865-6/ 1460-1.

Before the expiry of the truce terms,[3] Bahlul marched upon Shamsabād and expelled Jūnā K͟hān its Sharqī governor and gave it to Rāi Karan. When Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī came to oppose him, Bahlul weakened by the desertion of Quṭb K͟hān son of Ḥusain K͟hān Afg͟hān, Mubāriz K͟hān Bahta and Rāi Pratāp all of whom went over to the Sharqī side, did not dare to fight and retreated to Delhi. This success of Ḥusain Shāh made Bahlul's governors in the eastern provinces tremble, so that Aḥmad K͟hān Mewāti and Rustam K͟hān, governor of Kol

1. There is no truth in Yādgār's statement that Bībī Rājī kept Muḥammad Shāh a prisoner in chains. Muhd. Shāh Sharqī's tomb built by Ḥusain Shāh, his brother, lies in a garden at Makhanpūr, a mile from Dalmāu town in Rāe Barelli Distt. U. P., in 863/1458. Fuhrer, Arch. Survey of Ind. Rep Vol. II New Series. 320.

2. Ṭab. Akb. I, p. 306-7.

3. Approximately in 864-5/1459-60.

joined Ḥusain Shāh. Never before did the Sharqīs plant themselves so near to Delhi and Agrā, and it was the widest expansion of the Sharqi frontier to the west by diplomatic means.

Soon after this, Bahlul's attention was turned towards the Punjāb and Multān. In the latter province spectacular events had taken place in quick succession. In 855/1451 Bhalūl had proceeded towards Mūltān to punish Shaikh Yūsūf who had declared the independence of Multān. In 856/1452, twelve years after Shaikh Yūsūf's accession to the throne, Rāi Sihār, the chief of the Langā tribe[1] effected a coup d'etat and treacherously seized the throne[2] and assumed the title of Sultān Quṭbuddīn Langā. Shaikh Yūsuf whom he imprisoned, escaped and came over to Delhi. He was well-received by Bahlul and kept as a trump-card to be used at leisure. Bahlul married one of his daughters to Shaikh 'Abdullah[3] s/o Shaikh Yūsūf, because of his being

Bahlul's march on Multan.

1. Variously written as Sihār, Sipahr, Sunhār and Sehra. The Langās are supposed to be Rājpūt converts though entering themselves as Pathāns in the Census. *Vide* Ibbetson, Punjab Census Rep.ort 1881 p. 225.

2. Ṭab Akb. III, p. 522-24.

3. Bādshah 'Abdullah, son of Shāh Yūsuf Bahāi Quraishy was the son-in-law of Sūltān Bahlul Lodī. His son, born through Bahlul's daughter, was Shaikh Ruknuddīn, who became the Shaikh-ul Islām of Delhi under Sikandar Lodī. His son bore the name of Abul Fatḥ Nia'matulla Chishti, a contemporary of Sikandar Lodī. Muḥammad Ghausi Māndvi, Gulzar-i Abrār. Folio 64(b) ; A.S.B., Cal. Ms.

Shaikh Yūsuf died in 903/1497, in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodī. C/f Muhd Ghausi's Gulzār-i Abrār. A.S.B. Cal. Ms. f. 64(b). His tomb constructed by Shaikh 'Alāuddīn Ganj Shakr lies near the Khirki Mosque, Delhi. Āsār-i Sanādīd, Sayyid Aḥmad Khān p 23.

a Sayyid of the Quraish clan and allowed Shaikh 'Abdullah to take the empty title of Shāh 'Abdullah[1]. Like Charles XII of Sweden while enjoying the hospitality of the Turks, following his defeat at Pultova, in 1709, Shaikh Yūsuf began to constantly induce Bahlul to restore him to the throne. The establishment of a matrimonial relation had made such a step doubly necessary. Bahlul had no opportunity to do so because of his preoccupation in subjugating and conquering territories near Delhi and his wars with the Sharqīs, till after the death of Sultān Quṭbuddīn Langā.[2] Bahlul proceeded towards Multān, leaving Quṭb Khān Lodī and Khān Jahān as his deputies in the capital. When he was still on his way,[3] he was called back to Delhi to deal with Ḥusain Shāh who had once more invaded Bahlul's territories. Bahlul opposed the Sharqī forces in a sanguinary battle at Chandwār,[4] without, it seems, any decisive results. A three years' truce was again agreed upon, through the mediation of the nobles of both the parties, on old terms and old territorial limits.[5] Ḥusain Sharqī went towards Jaunpūr and Bahlul

But called back to fight the Sharqis.

1. *Vide* Geneological Table. No. IV, at the end of the book.

2. According to Niẓāmūddīn in 865/1460; acc. to Ferishta 874/1469. The latter date is correct.

3. Ṭab. Akb. I, p. 308.

4. Chandwār an ancient village on the left bank of the Jumna (27.7N and 78.23 E) in the present Āgrā Dist. U.P., 3 miles west of Firozabād. Its ruins, strewn for miles, attest to its greatness in the past.

5. About 874/1469.

to Delhi where he stayed for three years utilising his time in organising his army and reducing to submision the officers and Jāgirdārs who had joined Ḥusain Shāh.

Bahlul sends expedition to Multan.

It was during this interval[1] most probably, that Bahlul sent an expedition to Multān under prince Bārbak Shāh and Tātār K͟hān Lodī, governor of the Punjāb and another one to Mewār. Ḥusain Shāh Langā, king of Multān, son of Quṭb-uddīn Langā was the ablest and the most powerful of the Multān rulers. On his accession to the throne he launched upon a career of conquest. He subjugated Shor,[2] Chiniot and Kotkaror[3] from the Timūride princes [G͟hazi Sayyid K͟han and his feudatories] who held them[4] and was besieging the Dhankot fort[5] on the Indus. The rebellion of his brother at Karorkot was a factor in favour of Bahlul. When Ḥusain Shāh Langā was busy fighting his brother, the Lodī army dashed for the Multān city. Before the Lodīs could capture the city, Ḥusain Langā succeeded in defeating and capturing his brother. He crossed the Indus by night and came to the Multān

1. No date is given by any historian.
2. Shor is Shorkot, Tahsil headquarters, Jhang distt. Punj. (30.48 N and 72.8 E) about 4 miles from the left bank of the Chenāb, and 36 miles SW of Jhang town. I. G.
3. Karorkot is Karor Lāl Isa, Miānwāli distt. Punj. (31.13 N 70.57 E) on the Indus,
4. Tab. III p. 526.
5. Dhankot *Vide* Ain Jarr II p. 326, that is Dinkot situated on the Indus bank and included in the Sarkār of Sind Sāgar Doāb.

fort early in the morning. With 12 thousand mounted soldiers he came out of the fort, made them dismount, gave each one of them three arrows instructing them to dart them upon the enemy in quick succession. In the first volley the enemy was confused, in the second separated, and in the third routed. The archers mounted again and followed the retreating Lodīs.[1] The Delhi army was so panic-stricken that "it did not pull reins till the fort of Chiniot[2] was reached." The commander of the fort which was not well-manned, capitulated on the promise of a safe-conduct to 300 of its defenders—a promise which was shamefully violated and the garrison put to the sword. Sultān Ḥusain Langā did not try to reconquer Chiniot, which remained with Bahlul and his successors till the coming of Babar into India.

Battle of Multan, Lodi defeat.

Aḥmad Yādgār in his Tārīkẖ-i-Salātīn-i Afāgẖana[3] narrates of an expedition conducted by Sultān Bahlul against "the Rānā" (of Mewar) without naming the ruler or mentioning the date of the expedition in which matter he is very economic. This expedition has been corroborated by the Rājpūt Annals.[4] Though Tod

Bahlul's Mewar expedition.

1. Tab. Akb. III, p. 528.
2. Chiniot is a Tahsil head-quarter Jhang Dist. Punj. (31.43 and 73.0 E), 52 miles NE of Jhang town, Imp. Gaz. X, 285.
3. Buhār Ms. p. 16.
4. Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān Vol. I, p. 338-40.

does not give any date, it might have been undertaken by Bahlul during the breathing space of the truce with Ḥusain Shah Sharqī.

The circumstances are these. Rānā Kumbha was assassinated by his son who usurped the throne in 1468 A.D. and maintained for five years a precarious rule over his kingdom till 1473/878 H. He was so hated by his kith and kin and detested by his subjects that he has always been known by his epithet "Hatiāra" (the Assassin) in preference to his real name Rānā Ūda.[1] Territorial concessions and even giving autonomy to feudatory princes did not suffice to make them reconciled to him. His infamous rule was terminated by his expulsion from Mewār by his brother Rāi Mall. Rānā Ūda sought the help of Sultān Bahlul by presenting himself at Delhi and offering to the Sultān a daughter in marriage.[2] According to the Rājpūt Annals, Ūda died as soon as he quitted the Sultān's court struck by lightning. Bahlul himself accompanied an army of invasion with Quṭb K͟hān and K͟hān K͟hānān Farmali,[3] Sāhas Mall and Sūraj Mall, the two sons of Ūda.[4] The royal army after reaching Mewār, encamped at Siarh near Nāthdwāra.[5] Rāi Mall with all his chiefs and 58 thousand cavalry

Circumstances of invasion.

1. Tod, Annals I, 338.
2. Tod, Annals I, 340.
3. Yādgār, Buhar, p. 16.
4. Tod, Annals I, 340.
5. Tod, Annals, I, 340. Nathdwāra in Mewār is about 24.80 N and 73.85 E.

and 11 thousand footmen gave battle to the Lodi army.[1] According to Yādgār, the battle began with an attack launched by Chattarsāl, the nephew[2] of the Rāna, at the head of 10 thousand cavalry, with the result that a large number of Afghāns received martyrdom on the field through the obstinate valour of the Rājpūts, and the life of the two Muslim generals was in danger. Then followed a desperate hand to hand melee with sword and dagger. Chattarsāl was killed and "so many Rājpūts fell that pyramids were formed of their fallen heads, and streams ran out of their blood."[3] At this the Rāna made peace with the Sultān by consenting to read the 'Khutba' and issue coins in Chitor in the Sultān's name.[4]

Battle of Siarh and Rajput defeat.

Any way, the Sultān's success in Chitor seems to have been a short-lived one. The Rājpūts threw off the Delhi yoke, as soon as the back of the Sultān was turned, and perhaps it is due to this that this incident has not been mentioned by any other Muslim historian.

Short-lived victory.

After this, according to Yādgār, the Sultān, marched upon Nimkhār[5] country in the heart of

1. Tod, Annals I, p. 340.
2. Brother's son.
3. Yādgār, Buhār, p. 16.
4. The Rājpūt Annals claim the victory for the Rājpūts. Cf. Yādgār, Tārīkh-i Shāhi, p. 20 A. S. B. Text.
5. In Sītapūr district, Awadh, *Vide* Yādgār Tār. Shāhi ASB Text. p.20.

It is difficult to think of Sultan Bahlul undertaking an expedition in Awadh, in the heart of Jaunpūr kindom in the

Awadh which he thoroughly devastated and captured a rich booty.

Within the period of truce (three years') Bahlul marched on Aḥmad K̲h̲ān Mewāti who had gone over to the side of Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī. On the Sultān's reaching Mewāt Aḥmad K̲h̲ān submitted and was pardoned.

After the expiry of the truce-terms, Sultān Ḥusain Sharqi besieged Etāwah and captured it by treachery from its governor, a relative of Bahlul.[1] He put it in charge of his brother prince Ibrāhīm K̲h̲ān. Ḥusain Shāh drew to his side Rustam K̲han, governor of Kol (Aligaṛh) and induced Aḥmad K̲h̲ān Jilwāni to read the 'K̲huṭba' in his name in Bayāna.[2] Not satisfied with these successes, Ḥusain Shāh advanced on Delhi with 100,000 cavalry and one thousand elephants. Bahlul came out from Delhi and engaged the Sharqī army in the township of Bhatwāra.[3] After a long and protracted contest peace was arranged through the mediation of K̲h̲ān Jahān Lodī and both the monarchs departed to their own territories.[4]

Sharqi invasion of Delhi.

heyday of its power, particulary when the majorportion of the Jumna-Ganges Doāb was in sharqi hands unless we are prepared to connect it with his military measurs after the subjugation of Jaunpūr.

1. Ferishta. Ms.
2. Nia'matllah adds about the inclusion of Ḥūsain Shāh's name in the coins as well.
3. Bhatwāra is a village in Bulandshahr tahsīl and district U. P. *Vide* U. P. Distt. Gaz. Meerut Division D Vol. Appendix XXVI.
4. About 876-7/1471-2.

The contest however could not end in a draw. Very soon after, Ḥusain Shāh broke his word and attacked Sultān Bahlul. A fierce battle lasting for several days took place in Sikhera,[1] 25 miles from Delhi (about 877/1472). Peace was again concluded on the old terms, but it was destined to be operative for a short time only.

Battle of Sikhera.

The occasion for a fresh war was provied by the death of Sultān 'Alāuddīn at Badāun in 883/1478.[2] About a year before that Bībī Rājī, the mother of Ḥusain Shāh had died at Etāwa.[3] Quṭb K̲h̲ān Lodī who had gone to Etawah as the envoy of Delhi to express condolence found Ḥusain Shāh in a hostile attitude. The latter threatened him with imprisonment. Quṭb K̲h̲ān however escaped through his flattery by promising to help him in seizing the kingdom of Delhi. On the death of Sultān 'Alāuddīn, Ḥusain Shāh came to Badāun, ostensibly to condole the death of his father-in-law, but lost no time to seize Badāun by ejecting the sons of 'Alāuddīn. He fell upon Sambhal, captured Mubārak K̲h̲ān, son of Tātār K̲h̲ān, its governor on behalf of Bahlul and sent him as a prisoner to Sāran. With a large army consisting 140,000 cavalry and 1,400 elephants he marched towards

Sul Alauddin's death at Badaun and Sharqi seizure of Badaun.

1. Sikhera a village in Bulandshahr distt. U.P. *Vide* U.P. Distt. Gaz. Meerut Div. D Vol. Appendix.
2. Journal, A. S. B. Cal, Vol 41, 1872 p. 110. Fuhrer's Monumental Antiquities and Inscription, in N. W. P. and Awadh.
3. Ṭab. Akb. I, 308.

Delhi, at the instigation of his chief wife, Malka Jahān Bībī Khunza, daughter of Sultān 'Alāuddīn who naturally considered herself as the rightful heir to the Delhi throne and looked upon Bahlul as a usurper. She even threatened her husband that she would herself lead an army if Ḥusain Shāh failed to do so.[1] Touched to the quick, Ḥusain Shāh came up to the ford of Kachh[2] on the bank of the Ganges (883/1478). Ḥusain Khān son of Khān Jahān was sent by Bahlul to proceed toward Delhi by way of Meerut and he himself hastened to defend Delhi. Ḥusain Shāh had the better of his rival due to his numerical superiority. One whole night Bahlul stood in prayer at the tomb of Khwājah Quṭbuddīn Bakhtiyār Kāki.[3] In utter helplessness he sent messengers to Sultān Maḥmūd Khalji of Mālwa, to seek his assistance on condition of permanently ceding Bayāna to him.[4] But being pressed before the arrival of a reply, he proposed,[5] ostensibly to gain time, to hand over Delhi to Ḥusain Shāh, and rest content with a territory, 18 Karohs (kos) round about Delhi as the deputy of the Sharqī Sultān, a ruse which was well understood by Ḥusain Shāh. Quṭb Khān Lodī the master diplomat, however succeeded in mediating a

Sharqi invasion of Delhi at the instigation of Malka Jahan.

Peace treaty and treacherous attack by Bahlul.

1. Tārīkh-i Haqqī, Bānkipore Ms.
2. Kachh is placed by Abul Fazl (Āīn, Jarr II, 290) in the Sambhal Sarkār.
3. Ṭar. Dāūdi, Bānkipore Ms. p.35.
4. Tār Haqqī, Bānkipore Ms.
5. Ṭab. Akb. III p. 285.

treaty on condition of the Ganges being the boundary between the two kingdoms (884/1479). Husain Shāh relying on peace conditions, left his stores and equipment in the camping ground and marched off. Bahlul, who recognised no morality in state-craft, took a mean advantage of his opponent, chased the unsuspecting army, and captured almost all its baggage and stores.[1] Among the lot taken prisoner were 40 nobles of Ḥusain Shāh including Qāzi Samāuddīn, known as Qutlag̲h̲ K̲h̲ān the Wazīr, "the best learned man of the time," (Mian) Buddha, the Chamberlain, and Bībī K̲h̲ūnza, the chief wife of Ḥusain Shāh. Bībī K̲h̲ūnza was treated with great respect, and conducted to Ḥusain Shāh under the convoy of eunuchs.[2] The retreating Sharqī army was given a hot chase, with the result that the towns of Kampil, Patiāli, Shamsabād, Sakīt, Kol, Mārhara and Jalāli, which Ḥusain Shāh held in occupation, were captured, and in each place Bahlul appointed his own Shiqdār.

Husain Shah gives Battle.

Ḥusain Shāh rallied his forces at Rajhohar,[3] in the jurisdiction of the Rāpri Pargana, and was able, it seems, to put up a bold show (884-5/1479-80). At last terms were concluded on condition that each party should rest

1. Niẕāmūddīn (Tabqāt III p. 285) puts a wrong date to this incident, but the circumstances of the attack leave no doubt. of its taking place soon after 883 H. Badāūni gives the correct date from the Chronogram "Nawīd-i-K̲h̲arābī"
2. Ṭab. Akb. III 285-6.
3. C.f. Āīn II, Jarr. p. 183; رام مهجور in the Tabaqāt.

content with its pre-war boundary.[1] Ḥusain Shāh departed to Rāpri and Bahlul towards Dhupāmāu.

This reverse caused by treachery filled Ḥusain Shāh with a spirit of revenge amounting to frenzied desperation. Malika Jahān, after joining Ḥusain Shāh, induced him to avenge the insult caused by her capture. Consequently, in the next year,[2] 885/1480, Ḥusain Shāh, disregarding the advise of his well-wishers including the patron saint K̲h̲wajah G̲h̲ani, violated the treaty and marched towards Delhi with a strong force. The pliant and obsequious Bahlul who always concealed 'poisoned claws within velvet gloves', on this occasion as well, supplicated for pardon for his 'past misdeeds.'

Battle of Sonhar and Sharqi defeat.

Bahlul decided on the chances of war, when his prayer was rejected. A sanguinary battle took place at Sonhār.[3] Ḥusain Shāh being defeated fled to Rāpri, leaving a huge booty which was collected by Bahlūl. Once more he defeated Ḥusain Shāh who had rallied his forces at Rāpri was put to headlong flight 885/1480. To add to Ḥusain Shāh's misfortune, a number of his sons and family members were drowned in the course of crossing the Jamna during flight. Full of grief and remorse, he fled towards Gwālior, with a view to reaching Jaunpūr from that place. To

1. حد و قديم

2. سال ديگر in Mak̲h̲zan, MU. Ms.

3. Sonhār is the chief village of the pargana of the same name in Etah district, U.P.

add to his misery the Bhadaurias,[1] a Rājpūt tribe of freebooters living in Hatkānt[2] near Agrā, preyed on his camp, and completely wrecked it. When he reached Gwālior, Kirat Singh, its Rāja behaved submissively as an old vassal which he was and presented the unhappy Sultān with several lacs of tankas, some tents, horses, elephants and camels and escorted him with a force upto Kālpi. From Rāpri Bahlul marched on Etāwah and compelled its governor prince Ibrāhīm K̲h̲ān (Sultān Ḥusain's brother) and Haibat K̲h̲ān[3] to surrender Etāwah, after a three days' investment. Bahlul placed Etāwah in charge of Ibrāhīm K̲h̲ān Nūḥāni and some parganas were detached from it and given to Rāi Dāndū. Bahlul next followed Ḥusain Shāh to Rangāon[4] then 'in the jurisdiction of Kālpi.' The two armies faced each other and remained skirmishing

Bhadauria attack on the retreating Sharqi army.

1. The Bhadurias, are according to Elliot, a branch of the Chauhān Rājpūts, whose turbulence and lawlessness were put an end to by Akbar. Their chief till recently, was Rāja of Bhadāwār.
2. Hatkānt, Bāh Tahsil Agra district, U.P. is now an insignificant village on the banks of the Chambal, and mentioned by Abūl Faẕl as the stronghold of the Bhadaurias.
3. Surnamed "the wolf-killer."
4. Rangāon راکانو - رانکانو is now an insignificant village in the Bilhaur tahsil, Cawnpore, distt., U.P., south of the Ganges, U.P. Distt. Gaz. Allahabād Div. D. Vol. Appendix XIVII. W. Haig's identification of it (c.f. Camb. Ind. His. III) with Raigāon-Khaga is peculiar, as Khaga in the Fatehpūr dist. has never been Rāigāon at the same time and distant from the scene described.

for several months from the opposite sides of the Ganges. At last Tilokchand, governor of Baksar[1] on behalf of Ḥusain Shāh, joined Bahlul and helped him to cross the Ganges through shallow waters. Ḥusain Shāh was outmanouvred and fled towards Riwā[2] whose Rāja received him and presented him with a few lacs of tankas, some horses and elephants and escorted him up to Jaunpūr with an army.

Battle of Rangaon.

Bahlul then turned towards Jaunpūr (886-7/1481-2). Ḥusain Shāh abandoned by luck so soon after his triumph, fled towards Kanauj via Bahraich with Bahlul close at his heels. In a battle fought on the bank of the Kāli Nadi[3] Husain Shāh was not only defeated but had to abandon emblems of his royalty and his wife Malika Jahān. Bahlul treated her respectfully, and took care to protect her honour. Bahlul directed his attention towards subjugating the Jaunpūr territories, and brought most of them under his control in 888/1483.[4]

Battle of Kanauj & capture of Bibi Khunza Malka Jahan.

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1. Baksar is in the pargana Daundia Khera, Tirwa tahsil Ūnao district U.P. (26.8 N & 80.41 E) 32 miles SE of Ūnāo town. Imp. Gaz.
2. Bhattah or Bhat country of Muslim historians roughly corresponds to the state of Rewa in Baghel-khand with Bāndhogaṛh as its capital city.
3. The same as Rahab, Ābi Siyāh *i.e.* the Kāli Nadi, which joins the Ganges ten miles above Kanauj after passing through the Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Aligaṛh, Etah and Farrukhabād districts, U. P.
4. Vide Nelson Wright's The Sultāns of Delhi—their coinage and Metrology, p.248, for the coin of Bahlul dated 888 H struck in Jaunpūr town.

Malka Jahān however effected her escape by trickery and succeeded in joining her husband. Bahlul put the Jaunpūr kingdom in charge of Mubārak K͟hān Nūḥāni, but left an outpost in the township of Mijhauli[1] with Quṭb K͟hān, son of K͟hān Jahān Lodi and other nobles and proceeded towards Badāun. As soon as his back was turned, Ḥusain Shāh attacked Jaunpūr and drove the officers of Bahlul to seek refuge in Mijhauli. Quṭb K͟hān Lodi opened negotiations with Ḥusain Shāh to gain time till the arrival of reinforcements. Bahlul sent his son Bārbak Shāh with an advance party towards Jaunpūr and himself followed in the rear., in889/1484. Ḥusain Shāh without fighting a battle fled towards Bihār. When Bahlūl had come up to the town of Haldī,[2] in the present Balia district, in the course of pursuing Ḥusain Shāh, he received the news of the death of Quṭb K͟hān Lodi, his cousin, brother-in-law and the Wazīr, whereupon he went to Delhi for condolence. Quṭb K͟hān was a great diplomat of the Lodi period. By his habitual shrewrdness he had scored more important victories than those Bahlul achieved by his arms. His unrivalled art of befooling the enemy, saved Bahlul from many irritrievable defeats. He was instrumental in giving a new lease of life to the Lodi dynasty.

Her escape —battle Mijhauli.

1. Majhauli is a village in the Gorakhpūr distt. U.P. on the left bank of the Gandak. Imp. Gaz.
2. Haldī, in Rasra Tahsil, Balia distt. U.P. (26.6 N & 83.56E) on the right bank of the Ganges. Imp. Gaz. Vol. XIII, p.10.

From Delhi Bahlul once more marched on Jaunpūr, and after subjugating its territories including Awadh, placed his son Bārbak Shāh on the Sharqi throne. To prevent the recurrence of the past troubles, he fortified Jaunpūr anew.[1] He was now free to reduce the Sharqi territories piecemeal. From Jaunpūr he marched on Kālpi[2] which he conquered and gave as an appanage to prince A'ẕam Humāyūn, [s/o prince Bāyazīd, s/o Bahlul], and came to Dholpūr via Chandwār.[3] The Rāja of Dholpūr, hitherto a Sharqi vassal, came to escort him and presented him with a few mans (maunds)[4] of gold. From Dholpūr the Sultān proceeded to Bāree,[5] whose governor Iqbāl K͟hān offered submission, and was confirmed in his position after presenting a few maunds of gold. From Bāri the Sultān attacked Mālwa territories. It was an un-provoked aggression. Bahlul took advantage of the weakness in Mālwa caused by the accession of the pleasure-seeking G͟hiāṣūddīn K͟halji

Conquest of Jaunpur kingdom.

1. Ferishta, MU.Ms.
2. Kālpi town is in the present Jalaun district U.P. (26.8 N & 79.45 E) on the ravines of the Jamna, 22 miles from the Jalaun town. Imp. Gaz. U.P. Distt. Gaz. Vol. XXV p. 175 ff. The old Kālpi pargana, however included many parganas of the present Cawnpore dist. c.f. note on Rangao p.31; Bev. Mem. of Baur II 649.
3. Vide foot note p.32.
4. A Persian maund is a lighter weight, the standard mannd is equivalent to 40 seers (84 pounds).
5. Bāree or Bāri is the head-quarter of the district of the same name in Dholpūr state, 19 miles west of Dholpūr Rly. station, and 45 miles SW of Agra. Thor. Gaz. 1.

(873-906/1482-1500), the son of Maḥmūd Kẖalji who maintained a well-stocked harem of 16 thousand inmates. Bahlul invaded and destroyed the city of Alhanpūr[1] in the jurisdiction of Rantambhor,[2] and belonging to Mālwa (in 889/1494). The news of this aggressive attack was conveyed to Sultān G̱ẖiāṣuddin with great difficulty, owing to his dislike of having his routine disturbed. A courtier, plucking great courage, pointed out to the Sultān that Bahlul had ceased sending the 'customary tribute' to Mālwa and had the audacity to destroy Alhanpūr, a Mālwa city. The Sultān gave orders to Sher Kẖān, son of Muẕaffar Kẖān, governor of Chanderi, to march against Bahlul with the Bhilsa and Sārangpūr armies. When the Mālwa army appeared near Bayāna, Bahlul hopelessly outnumbered, broke his camp. and retreated towards Delhi, with the Mālwa army close upon his heels. He purchased peace by sending presents and gifts and perhaps paid reparation for damages. Sher Kẖān then proceeded towards Alhanpūr and rebuilt the city.[3]

Bahlul attacks Malwa territories and is defeated, 889/1494

1. Alhanpūr (not Palānpūr as in Ferishta II, Lucknow) city was the head-quarter of the Pargana of the same name in Rantambhor Sarkār. Vide Āīn, Jarrett, II, p.274.

2. Rantambhor is a town with a strong fort in the present Jaipur state, Rājpūtāna in 26.2 N & 76.30 E. East of the fort is the town connected with it by a long flight of steps. Imp. Gaz.

3. Tab. Akb. III, 352; Ferishta II, Luck, 257.

It was perhaps during this stay in Delhi that instigated by the growing infirmity of age, he divided his kingdom among his sons and kinsmen[1] and thus left a legacy of troubles for his successor. The former kingdom of Jaunpūr he left with his son prince Bārbak Shāh; Kaṛa and Mānikpūr[2] he gave as an appanage for his son Mubarāk K̲h̲ān Lodi ; Bahraich to his cousin[3] Shaik̲h Muḥammad Qurbān Farmali surnamed "Kālāpahāṛ"; and Lucknow and Kālpi he gave to prince A'ẓam Humāyūn, son of prince Bāyazīd (killed some months earlier by one of his servants);[4] Badāun to K̲h̲ān Jahān Lodi,[5] a relative and the chief of the nobles; the Punjāb and portions of the Doāb he left with prince Niẓām K̲h̲ān whom he nominated as heir-apparent.

Bahlul's return to Delhi and divides his kingdom.

The subjugation of Jaunpūr gave Bahlul ample opportunity to launch upon ambitious wars of conquest in the west notably at the expense of Kashmīr.

Sultān Ḥasan, son of Sultān Ḥaidar and grandson of Sūltān Zainal 'Abedīn, who ascended the throne of Kashmīr in 878/1473, had to contest the

1. Tar Alfi, Murshidabād Estate Lib. Mr. No. 411.
2. Kaṛa and Mānikpūr, on the bank of the Ganges (Allahabad distt. U.P.) formed one Sarkār before Akbar Cf. Āīn Jarr. II 163, 167.
3. Vide Genealogical table at the end.
4. Ferishta, Ms.
5. See also Maulvi Raziuddīn's Kanzut-tawārik̲h̲ which is a history of Badāon, for the two earlier governors of the place, A'zam Hūmāyūn K̲h̲ān Lodī and his brother Ahmed Khan. Page 57 contains text of the inscription over A'ẓam Hūmāyūn K̲h̲an Lodī's tomb.

Relations with Kashmir.

throne against his uncle, Bahrām Khān,[1] who being invited by some Kashmīri nobles, attacked Kashmīr from the Punjāb, probably with the assistance of the army supplied at the orders of Sultān Bahlul.[2] Bahrām Khān was however defeated in an engagement, at Lūlūpūr by his nephew, imprisoned and blinded only to die three days after. Ḥasan Shāh sent a combined army of Kashmīr and Jammū to invade the Punjāb by way of reprisal, under the leadership of Rajā 'Ajab Deo.[3] The invading army which advanced by way of Rājori was defeated by Tātār Khān Lodi governor of the Punjāb, who sacked Siālkot which since then remained under the possession of the Lodis till its seizure by Bābar.

Civil war in Kashmīr began afresh when prince Muḥammad succeeded his father, Ḥasan Shāh in 891/1486.[4] Some nobles during the minority of Muḥammad Shāh put to death Sayyid Ḥasan, the Wazīr and regent and 30 other Sayyids at the instigation of the Rāja of Jammū. This goaded Sayyid Muḥammad, son of Sayyid Ḥasan and his partisans to a war of defence by taking himself to the other side of the river Beās and destroying the bridge over it.[5] Sayyid Muḥammad being worsted in

1. Ṭab. Akb. Vol. III p. 448; Ferishta, Lucknow III p.384.
2. The fact that Sul Ḥasan was contemplating an attack on the Lodī territories, before the invasion of Bahrām Khān of Kashmīr, presupposes of a support by the Lodi Sultān to Bahrām.
3. Ṭab. Akb. III p. 449.
4. Ferishta Ms.
5. Tab. Akb. III p. 451; Ferishta, Luck II, p. 349.

the struggle against the partisans of the king, sought help from Tātār K̲h̲ān Lodi governor of the Punjāb who sent a large force to attack Srīnagar. The invading army was defeated at Bhimber by Rāja Hans, the chief of the place[1] and dispersed in 892/1486.[2]

Sometime after reaching Delhi and making bequests mentioned earlier, Bahlul went towards Hisār Fīrūza and again returned to Delhi after some months. Halting at Delhi, for sometime, he marched towards Gwālior 893-4 (probably the autumn of 1488) against Rājā Mān Singh Tonwār, an old Sharqi vassal. Rājā Mān did homage by making a present of 80 lac of tankas. From Gwalior the Sultān marched towards Etāwah and dispossessed the Chauhān Jāgīrdār, in charge of it ever since its capture from the Sharqīs. On his way back to Delhi he fell ill from excessive heat. He gave orders for encampment near the village of Milāuli[3] in the jurisdiction of the Sakīt Pargana and succumbed to his illness in the 80th year of his life.[4] In his deathbed he instructed one of his relatives to convey his last advice to his son prince Niẓām K̲h̲ān, forbidding

Bahlul's Gwalior campaign and death on way back to Delhi.

1. Ṭab. Akb. III p. 451; Ferishta Luck II, 349.
2. Ferishta Ms.
3. Milauli is a village in the Etah district about 15 miles north of Sakīt on the Etah-Aliganj Road. Cf. map attached to Vol. XII of U.P. distt. Gaz. and Appendix to the B Vol. of U.P. Distt. Gaz. on Agra Divn. Milauli is clearly written in M. U. Ms. of Tabaqāt, and Ms. of Mak̲h̲zanī Afg̲h̲ānī.
4. Abul Faẓl, Āīn Jarr, II p. 309.

him to make any member of the Sūr tribe a noble, "because they aspire for kingship," or to take the Niāzīs (his father Kālā Lodi's assassins) into confidence, "because they are dauntless and treacherous."[1]

Bahlul died on the 13th of Sha'bān 894/July 12, 1489 and taking the 17th Rabi I, 855/April 19, 1451, as the date of his accession, he reigned, 39 lunar years, 4 months and 26 days, or 38 solar years, 2 months and 24 days.[2] He lies buried immediately outside the west wall of the inner enclosure of the Dargah of Rawshan Chirāgh in Delhi.[3]

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1. 'Abdullah Tār. Dāūdī Bānkipore Ms. p.38.
2. Cf. my art. on "Bahlul Lodi, the place of his death and duration of his reign". in the Journal of Indian Hisoty Madras, No. 17. 1938, p.325. ff.
3. For the five domed tomb vide Zafar Ḥasan's List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments in Delhi V. II, No. 238 ; Asār-i Sanādīd ch. III 42-43.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTER OF SULTĀN BAHLUL LODĪ

Bahlul Lodī has been described by a Paṭhān historian as brave and generous, patient and just and a strict follower of the 'sharia'[1] from which he never deviated whether as a man or as a king. He was never hasty in action,[2] was extremely simple in his habits, unusually unostentatious in his bearing, and lenient in his dealings with his nobles. He treated them like brothers and equals, never surrounded himself with pomp and formality of royal etiquette, and thus carried the Paṭhān conception of equality to its logical conclusion.

Bahlul's private character.

He was extremely kind and affable to his friends and relatives, and chose almost all high officers of the state from the Afghāns and kinsmen. He was clement and merciful to a fallen foe and chivalrous towards the fair sex. His dealings with refractory chiefs and treatment of Malika Jahān, wife of Sultān Ḥusain Sharqī are examples in point. He was typically Paṭhān in his charity. It is said that he never turned a

1. Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī, Bānkipore p. 19.
2. Ferishta Ms.

beggar from his door disappointed, and on state occasions—e.g. enthronement, or celebration of victories, he distributed huge sums to the poor and the needy and never amassed a treasure.[1] Though a strict follower of religion he was not a bigot and never persecuted, like his son, the adherents of other faiths. He was faithfully served by a number of Rājpūt Zamindārs and Jāgīrdārs whom he entrusted with high administrative posts. He had a taste for literature and poetry, and spent most of his time in the company of the learned.[2]

As a king, he was wise, kind, merciful and loving and scrupulously just in his dealings with his people.[3] He used to attend to the state duties, including relief of the people, and give audience daily and administer justice personally. Whether as the leader of a tribe or as king, he distributed the booties of war among his soldiers, and like the 'Pious Caliphs,' preferred to take an equal share with them. His meals, which were very simple, were never prepared in his palace, but were sent from the house of nobles, perhaps in rotation. So unconventional was he that at the time of his taking menls, the guards were taken off, so that any stranger could enter and share the victuals.[4] He

As a king.

1. Tār. Dāūdī, Bānkipore p. 19.
2. Tār. Dāūdī, Bānkipore p. 19; Ferishta Mss.
3. Ferishta Ms. از روی عدل و انصاف باخلق زندگانی نمود
4. Tār. Dāūdī; the practice of admitting strangers at the time of daily meals was in vogue in pre-partiton time, in many of the Zamīndār families of U.P. and I suppose exists even now.

treated the nobles like brothers and equals and not as servants. Whether giving audience or presiding at state functions, he did not sit on a throne, not even on a raised platform, and forbade the nobles to remain standing before him. Though an absolute monarch owing allegiance to no external authority, he like K̲h̲izr K̲h̲ān, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty, designated himself the 'Masnad-i-'Ala' while sending a farmān, to a noble. If any noble got offended, he went to his house, ungirded the sword from his waist and placed it before the offended noble. On some occasions he took his turban off his head and implored the forgiveness of a displeased noble by saying "if you do not consider me fit for the royal office, entrust this to somebody else."[1] He did nothing to mark himself from the rest of his nobles or impress his privileged position upon them. He never rode on a especially caparisoned horse, but a very ordinary one from the stable of a noble. He used to say, "It is enough if my name is associated with the kingdom."[2] Again, if a noble fell ill, he went to call on him at his residence. Thus his position in the state was like that of the leader of a democratic tribe or a 'citizen king.' This sense of equality is inherent in the Paṭhāns who are always restless with a master.

His simplicity and humility.

Bahlul was extremely tolerant of other peoples opinion and had a marvellous control over his tem-

1. Tār. Dāūdī p. 20.
2. Tār. Dāūdi.

per, and held the Muslim divines in great respect. 'Abdullah[1] narrates a story, that on the day of his enthronement, he went for the Friday prayer in the Cathedral mosque. Mulla Qādan, one of the most influential men in the metropolis, ascended the pulpit for reading the Khuṭba and spoke contemptuously about the Afghāns at the time of coming down.[2] At this the king simply smiled by pressing his hand-kerchief against his lips and remarked, "Mullā Qādan, it is enough, we also are servants of God."

Control over temper.

Whether in the camp, where he spent the major portion of his reign or in the capital, he worked hard in the transaction of state business and the relief of the people. Rising early, he attended the state business, signed documents, passed orders to military commanders and local governors, gave audience and dispensed justice. When mid-day came the state duties ended. From noon till 'isha' (bed-time) prayer, he kept company with the learned, read the Qurān and said prayers in congregation. After the 'isha' prayer, he came to the harem where he remained for one hour.[3] He probably had his meals after that and came

His routine

1. Tār Dāūḍī Bānkipore Ms, p. 22.

2. Ibid p.22. "My God, what a strange people have come up! Their language (Poshto) is such that, they call mother "moor", brother "roor", camp "shoor", soldier "toor", man "noor"!

3. ایک ساعت 'Abdullah.

to his private chamber.[1] He slept little and if we believe 'Abdullah, during sleeping time as well, he thought of relieving the distress of his people and solving knotty judicial cases. On the whole, he was a wise, just and benign ruler.

As a soldier.

As a soldier Bahlul was brave and resourceful, calm and unnerved in the face of the thickest dangers. As a soldier he had a highly creditable record of victories in the campaigns most of which he conducted personally. He died in the camp while returning from a campaign, at the age of 80 years. Though it cannot be claimed that he did not lose a battle, it is a fact that the fruits of battles lay always in his favour. He was never wounded in any encounter. When sheer bravery and generalship failed him at the hour of crisis, he resorted to diplomacy, and at times, to treachery. He broke his words without hesitation and sometimes lacked chivalry, the only quality which makes a victor more attractive. Treaties were regarded by him as scraps of paper to be observed as long as his purpose was served. As an instance of his major treachery, his attack on the Mālwa army in 852H/1448 after terms had been concluded, his repeated breaking of treaties with the Sharqī kings, the imprisonment of Ḥamīd K͟hān, his bribing of Daryā K͟hān Lodī in the battle of Narela, are examples in point. It was to his favourite practice of taking a mean advantage over his enemies rather than to his outstanding merit as

1. خلوت خانه

a soldier or military leader that Bahlul owes many of his victories.

Bahlul was an admirer of Mughul soldiership[1] and had in his employ as body-guards, and also in the personal staff of the princes, a large number of Mughuls. He seems to have taken a fancy to the Mughul war strategy, which he frequently adopted and this probably accounted for some of his victories over the vastly superior army of his opponents such as the Sharqī Kings. The chief cause of his success is this that in the period of disintegration and disunion which began during the rule of the Sayyid Kings, the Afghans were the only war-like people united for a purpose.

Bahlul as a statesman and legislator.

Bahlul seems to have possessed very little administrative genius. He had very scanty opportunities to tackle administrative problems seriously. He was a conqueror and had to spend the major portion of his reign in maintaining his position against his adversaries, the most formidable of whom was the restless Husain Shāh. He left undisturbed the administrative system of his predecessors, and contented himself by merely substituting his own officers and kinsmen.[2] The country was parcelled out among military jāgīrdārs most of whom were Paṭhāns. He was short-sighted enough to give a license to the nobles by treating them as equals, and arrogating to himself the position of a tribal chief,

1. Ferishta Ms.

2. Ṭab. Akbari, I, p.310-12.

CHAPTER IV

SULTĀN SIKANDAR LODĪ

A day after the death of Sulṭān Bahlul at Milauli, a village about 15 miles north of Sakīt, the nobles met in a council, to choose a successor. Divided as they were, as supporters of Princes Niẕām K͟hān, Bārbak Shāh, and A'ẕam Humāyūn, they could not arrive at any decision. Discussions ran hot as each supported his own candidate. Bībī Sonārī[1] mother of Prince Niẕām K͟hān, socalled because she was a Hindu goldsmith's daughter, who happened to accompany the Sultān in his fatal journey, addressed the nobles from behind the curtain, dwelling on the fitness of her son, who, she assured, would treat the

Disputed succession.

1 Bībī Panna acc to Ferishta Ms; Zeban acc to 'Abdullah (Tār. Dāūdi) and Ferishta, Lucknow; Bībī Sonārī acc to Mir'at-i-Aftābnūma of Shāh Nawāz K͟hān and Beale's Miftāḥut-tawārik͟h. Aḥmad Yādgār (T.S.A. Buhār, p.14) informs us that Bahlul while yet a governor of Sirhind took fancy to a gold-smith's daughter of matchless charm, Hīja by name, whom he married in the year of his accession. She gave birth to Prince Niẕām K͟hān. The date is incredible, because Bahlul was already the father of 10 sons at the time of his accession of whom Niẕām K͟hān was one.

nobles well.[1] Upon this 'Isa K̲h̲ān Lodī[2] said, "What business has a goldsmith's grandson with the throne when Bārbak Shāh[3] possesses nobility of birth?" K̲h̲ān Khānān Farmali an active supporter of Prince Niẓām K̲h̲ān replied, "Only two days have elapsed since the Sultān's death ; it is unbecoming of you to rebuke the Sulṭān's wife." 'Isa K̲h̲ān retorted, "You are a mere servant, what business have you to interfere in the affairs of kith and kin?" This enraged K̲h̲ān K̲h̲ānān Farmali. He suddenly took an oath of allegiance to Prince Niẓām K̲h̲ān, left the assembly, and began to move towards Delhi, with the bier of the Sulṭān, in the company of the nobles of his own party.[4] The parties hostile to Niẓām K̲h̲ān, being divided in their allegiance to Bārbak Shāh and A'ẓam Humāyūn, withdrew without doing anything, to their charges, and refused to recognise a king whom they did not nominate. The news of the Sultān's death had been conveyed to Prince Nizām K̲h̲ān by his mother and Umar K̲h̲ān Sherwānī. the Waẓīr, who secretly summoned the prince to the camp.[5] Leaving prince Jamāl K̲h̲ān in charge of Delhi,[6] Niẓām K̲h̲ān

Sikandar summoned by his mother reaches Jalali.

1. Ferishta, Ms.
2. S/O Malik Fīrūz; vide genealogical table. No. I app. the end.
3. The eldest son of Sultān Bahlul through Shams K̲h̲ātūn. Vide also Tārik̲hi Alfi, Murshidabād Ms. f. 639, Ms. No.41.
4. Vide F. N. 2, P.50.
5. Ferishta, Ms.
6. Yādgār, Tār. Sal. Afāg̲h̲, Buhār p.26.

marched with all possible haste towards the camp, after paying a visit to S̲haik̲h̲ Samāuddīn Kambo, from whom he drew a happy augury, and joined the army, then marching with Sulṭān Bahlul's dead body.[1] He made a halt at Jalālī, sent his father's dead body to Delhi, and with the concurrence of K̲h̲ān Jahān Lodī, K̲h̲ān K̲h̲ānān Farmali and other nobles, he crowned himself, the day after his arrival, on Friday, the 17th Sha'bān 894/July 16, 1489, on the bank of the Kālī Nadī,[2] on a mound[3] near Jalāli, on which was situated a hunting pavilion of Sultān Firūz Tug̲h̲laq,[4] and rewarded the nobles with gifts and presents—horses, robes of honour, offices and jāgirs.[5]

Sikandar's coronation July 16, 1489.

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1. C/f Ṭab. Akb., I(A.S.B) p. 314 نظام خان . . . سرعت سیر از باد استعاره کرده در قصبۂ جلالی خودرا بتابوت سلطان بهلول رسانیده و نعش پدر را بدهلی فرستاده باتفاق خانجهان وخان خانان فرملی و سائر امرائے پدر در روز جمع هفتدهم شعبان سنه اربع و تسعین و ثمانیہ . . . برسریر سلطنت جلوس نموده مخاطب بسلطان سکندر گشت ۔
2. Vide fn p.43 numbered 2.
3. This mound still exists but there is no trace of the palace. Vide Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Aligarh, 1943. p 397 ff. for article entitled, 'A note on Sultān Sikandar Lodī's, enthroncment,' by the writer.
4. C/f Ṭab. Akb. and followed by Ni'amatullah, Ferishta. I dāūnī, 'Abdūl Bāqī. and the rest thus.
بر بالائی بلندی که کنار آب سیاه واقع است و آنرا کوشک فیروز میگویند ۔
5. Yādgār, Tār. Sal. Afāg̲h̲ Buhār Ms. p.27.

Soon after his coronation at Jalāli, the new Sultān went to Delhi, and had himself firmly established on the throne. But he was the king of a section of the nobles, with the territories of Delhi, the Punjāb and only a fraction of the Doāb. Almost the whole of the eastern portions of the empire, controlled by the supporters of Bārbak Shāh, and A'ẕam Humāyūn, had slipped from his hands. The furthest limit to the Sultān's authority in the east seems to have been the pargana of Jalālī. The task before Sikandar was therefore to reduce to submission his brother and his nephew and all their partisans, and make himself sovereign in the area ruled by his father.

His position after coronation.

He first marched against his brother 'Ālam K̲h̲ān Lodī, who had joined prince A'ẕam Humayūn and defied the Sultān's authority at Rāprī. The forts of Rāprī[1] and Chandwār[2] being besieged, 'Alam K̲h̲ān fled to Patiālī to seek refuge with 'Īsa K̲h̲ān Lodī. Rāprī surrendered and was conferred on K̲h̲ān K̲h̲ānān Lohānī The Sultān marched on Etāwah, where he stayed for seven months. 'Alam K̲h̲ān made his submission and joined the Sultān there. He (the Sultān) magnanimously pardoned his offence and put him in charge of Etāwah.

Marches against 'Alam Khan and 'Isa Khan Lodi.

The Sultān next marched on 'Īsa K̲h̲ān Lodī (895A.H./1490 A.D.), the chief opponent of his candidature for the throne and supporter of prince

1. Vide fn 7. Page 12.

2. Vide fn on page 32, nambred 4.

'Isa Khan dies of wound.

Bārbak Shāh, now a rebel at Patiāli. In an engagement 'Īsa K͟hān was defeated and made to submit to the Sultān but he died soon after of a wound, received in the battle. Patiālī was conferred on Rāi Ganesh,[1] a noble of Bārbak Shāh as the price for deserting his chief and joining the Sultān.

Sikandar's march against Barbak Shah—battle of Kanauj.

Sikandar sent Isma'il K͟hān Nūhānī[2] to Bārbak Shāh, his brother, asking him to read the Khutba in the Sultān's name. On his refusal, the Sultān marched against him. A battle took place near Kanauj in which Kālā Pahāṛ (Shaik͟h Muḥammad Qurbān) who was commanding Bārbāk Shāh's army was captured. The Sultān won over the captive by kindness and compassion. Kālā Pahāṛ became ashamed of his conduct and fought against Bārbak Shāh from the side of the Sultān. Bārbak Shāh bing defeated fled towards Badāūn and prince Mubārak K͟hān Lodī was taken captive. The Sultān followed the fugitive Bārbak up to Badāūn. In utter helplessness Bārbak surrendered. He was pardoned by his brother and brought to Jaunpūr, and placed on the throne. Since Ḥusain Shāh had not been thoroughly subdued, and was holding himself in Behār, and had been on the look-out for an opportunity, Sikandar left at Jaunpūr, some officers whom he could rely upon, as administrative advisers of his brother and parcelled the Jaunpūr parganas among his own

1. Badāūnī calls him the Rāja of Patiāli.
2. Mak͟hzan M.U. Ms. p. 91.

nobles.[1] By this new dispensation, Bārbak Shāh was left with the position of a puppet king.

From Jaunpūr the Sultān proceeded towards Kotla[2] and Kālpi attacked and defeated prince A'ẕam Humāyūn Lodī. He bestowed Kālpi on Maḥmūd K͟hān Lodi.[3] He next marched on Jathra[4] against its recalcitrant governor Tātār K͟hān Lodi, whom he pardoned, and left in charge of the place. He sent K͟hwāja Muḥammad Qurbān Farmali (Kālā Pahāṛ) with especial robe of honour to Rāja Mān Singh of Gwālior, who had offered his submission to Bahlul in 894/1489 following the defeat of Ḥusain Sharqī, but whose attitude to the new ruler was uncertain. Rāja Mān offered submission and sent his nephew to escort the Sultān upto Bayāna. Bayāna was ūptil now outside the Lodi sphere of influence and ruled by an independent chief, whose name waṣ Sultān Ashraf[5] s/o Sultān Aḥmad Jilwānī, the latter a vassal of Ḥusain Shāh Sharqi.

Marches against other rebels.

1. Ṭab. Akb. p.316 Vol. I.
2. Kotla in Karra Sārkar c/f Aīn. Jarr. II, 106.
3. This Maḥmūd K͟hān Lodi is not to be confounded with Maḥmūd K͟hān Lodi son of Sul Sikandar on the authority of Nizāmūddīn. This Maḥmūd Lodi, son of Mubārak K͟hān, son of Bahlul Lodi, governor of Kālpi died in the reign of Sul Sikandar and was succeeded by his son Jalāl K͟hān Lodi in the government of Kālpi. See Genealogical Table No. I at the end.
4. Jaithra is a village in 'Alīganj Tahsīl Etah district U.P. (27.29 N & 79.3 E) on the Etah—Alīganj Road, 3 miles from Etah. U.P. Dist. Gaz. Vol. XII p.174.
5. Ashraf in Makhzan, Sharaf in Tabaqāt I, p. 316.

Bayāna seems to have overthrown Jaunpūr yoke after the annexation of Jaunpūr kingdom by Bahlul in 888/1483. The Sultān proposed to Sultān Ashraf to hand over Bayāna and take Jalesar, Chandwār, Mārhara (Mārehra) and Sakīt instead. He pretended at first to deliver the keys of Bayāna fort to 'Ūmar Khān Sherwāni, but later strengthened hismelf inside it. The Sultān besieged Haibat Khān Jilwāni, a vassal of Sultān Ashraf at Agra, and leaving some nobles to conduct the siege, he marched on Bayāna. "Sultān Ashraf surrendered Bayāna in 897/1491, and it was conferred on Khān Khānān Farmali. After the conquest of Agra fort, and the final ejection of Sultān Ashraf, which happened soon after, the Sultān came to Delhi,[1] where he halted for 24 days.

Siege and annexation of Bayana 1491.

On the third day of his stay at Delhi,[2] when he came out to play polo, he received the news of a mass attack on Jaunpūr by the zamindārs and Bachgoti Rājpūts,[3] led by Jūgā,[4] who had collected under his banner

1. The account of these conquests, from the time of Sultān Sikandar's enthronement, has been given in Ṭab. Akb. 316-17, and followed by Ni'amatullah, Ferishta, 'Abdūl Bāqī and others almost word for word.
2. 'Abdūllah, Tār. Dāūdi, Bānkipore, p.91.
3. The Bachgotis are a tribe of Mainpūri Chauhāns, living on the borders of Jaunpūr and Gorakhpūr and notorious for their turbulence. The Diwān of Hasanpūr Bāndhwa is a Bachgoti Muslim. Vide Elliot Memoirs of the Races of the North West Provinces Vol. I, p.47 ff.
4. Jūga's name is given by Yādgār, Tār. Sal. Afāgh, Buhar, p.29, and 'Abdullah T.D.

one hundred thousand cavalry and footmen with the result that Mubārak K̲h̲ān Nūhāni, Sikandar's agent and de facto ruler of Jaunpūr was expelled and captured while trying to cross the Ganges by the Prayāg ford[1] by boatmen[2] and handed over to Rāi Bhīd[3] of Bhatthah (Riwa) and that his brother Sher K̲h̲ān was killed in a battle against him, and that Bārbak Shāh, not daring to resist their attack, had left Jaunpūr to take refuge with Muhammad Qurbān Farmali (Kālāpahāṛ) at Daryābād.[4] On hearing this the Sultān ordered for mobilization, by pitching the purple tent. He is said to have become so enraged that he refused to visit his palace and vowed to take his meals in the camp.[5]

Sikandar marches east to crush Bachgoti revolt.

The preparations completed, he marched towards Jaunpūr in 897/1491. When he reached Dalmāu,[6] he was joined by the fugitive Bārbak Shāh with all

1. Jūsi-Beāk of the text, i.e. the villages of Jhusi and Prayāg identified as the site "where the city of Allahabād was founded by Akbar the Great".
2. ملاحان (i.e.-boatmen). Mulla khān of Dorn : [cf Tr of Mak̲h̲zan-i-Afg̲h̲āni]. (رائی بهید)
3. This name occurs in various forms. Rāi Bhīd in Mak̲h̲zan Ms p.93, Tār. Dāūdi, and Ṭabaqāt, edited text; and Rāi Shah Deo in Ferishta: Rāi Nahand in Tab. Akb. Ms, can be read as Rāi Bhīd by change of dots.
4. Daryabād town is in the Rām-Sanehighāt Tahsīl, Bārabanki district, U.P. sit. 26.53 N & 81.34 E. Imp. Gaz. Vol. XI.
5 'Abdullah Tār. Dāūdi p.92.
6. Dalmāu town is the head-quarters of the Tahsīl of the same name in the Rāe Bareli dist. U.P., sit. on the Ganges bank at 26.4 N & 81.3 E, Imp. Gaz. Vol. XI.

the Jaunpūri nobles. At the appearance of the Sultān in full force, Rāi Bhīd released Mubārak Khān Nūḥāni and sent him to the Sultān. The latter marched on Jūgā and his confederates, at Kāthgaṛh,[1] about 8 miles north-east of the Dalmāu town. If we believe 'Abdullah and Yādgār, the Sultān fell upon Jūgā who had 15 thousand horses and 2 hundred thousand footmen, with only 500 cavalry, without waiting for the arrival of the main body of the army. Jūgā fled without an encounter and his army was dispersed with great slaughter. Immense booty fell into the hands of the Lodi army including the wearing apparel of Jūgā found in the camp.[2] Jūgā was pursued upto the strongly fortified citadel of Jaund,[3] where Sultān Ḥusain Sharqi was stationed. Sikandar wrote to Ḥusain Shāh a conciliatory letter inviting him to forget the past and offering him peace and allowing him to keep the territories held by him on condition of his surrendering Jūgā.[4] Ḥusain Shāh sent him a contemptuous and insulting letter through Mīr

Battle of Kath-garh; Juga defeated.

1. Kāthgarh or Katgaṛh (کاته گڑه in Ferishta; کهکهر, Khakhar or Kathghar in Tabaqāt) is now a small village in the Dalmāu Pargana, Rāe Bareli district. Vide map of Rāe Bareli dist. in Vol. 39, U.P. Dist. Gaz. p. 137. also Vol. 28 p. 163.
2. Tār. Dāūdi p.94.
3. Jaund is placed by Abul Faẓl in the Rohtās Sarkār. Vide Āīn, Jarrett p. 157. Jaund or Chaund is Chandragaṛh, in Aurangabād Subdivision, Gayā Distt. Bihār. It still contains an old fort.

Tār. Dāūdi Ms. p.95.

Sayyid K͟hān, in these words, "Jūgā is my servant; your father was a soldier, I fought him with the sword. You are an inexperienced child. If you persist, I will beat you with shoes."[1] Deciding on war, the Sultān arranged his soldiers in battle order.

Battle of Chaund. 'Umar K͟hān Sherwāni was made the commander-in-chief of the army.[2] Ḥusain Shāh came out of the fort and took the initiative in attack. A desperate hand-to-hand fight ensued in which Sultān Sikandar personally led the army mounted on an elephant, resulting in the defeat and flight of Ḥusain Shāh to Behār.

The Sultān deputed A'ẕam Humayūn K͟hān Sherwāni to conquer the Sharqi territories in Awadh.

From Jaund the Sultān turned towards Jaunpūr, placed Bārbak Shāh once more on the Sharqi throne, and nearly spent a month in Awadh, hunting and sight-seeing. When he came to Kāṭhgaṛh, he was informed of the expulsion of Bārbak Shāh for a second time from Jaunpūr by the zamindārs of the locality. Enraged beyond control by repeated proofs of the incompetence of Bārbak Shah, he ordered Muḥammad Qurbān Farmali (Kālāpahāṛ) and A'ẕam Humayūn K͟hān Sherwāni to move towards Jaunpūr by way of Kara.[3] with per-

1. Tār Dāūdi, p.95
2. Ibid p. 97
3. Kaṛa in Mak͟hzan Ms. p.93; Āgra in Tabaqāt is obviously an error. Kaṛa an old historical place in the head-quarters of the pargana of the same name, Sirathu Tahsil, Allahabād district, U.P. is 41 miles from Allahabād, sit. at 25.42 N & 81.22 E. U.P. Dist. Gaz. Vol. XXIII pp. 247-51 & 301-306.

emptory orders to seize Bārbak Shah, ands end him as a prisoner to the Sultān. When brought before the Sultān, Bārbak was handed over to the custody of 'Umar Khān (Sherwāni). The Sultān himself passed by the vicinity of Jaunpūr and attacked Chunār[1] Some nobles of Husain Shāh who were there, were defeated and driven to shut themselves in the fort. The fort being very strong, the Sūltān did not attempt a siege, but passed on to Kantat,[2] which was then a part of the Rīwa (Bhatthah) territory. Rāi Bhīd who had imprisoned and later released Mubārak Khān, came to receive him by offering submission. The Sultān left him in possession of Kantat. But when the Sultān marched on Arāil,[3] and devastated its territories, Rāi Bhīd became so frightened that he left all his movables, and fled towards Riwa. The Sultān was chivalrous enough to convey all his movables to him. He then passed to Dalmāu via Kara where he married the widow of Sher

Attack on Chunar & invasion of Baghelkhand.

1. Chunār is the head-quarters of the Tahsīl of the same name in the Mirzāpūr district, U.P. on the right bank of the Ganges, sit. 25.7N & 83.12 E.

2. Kantat is the capital of the pargana of the same name (an entirely obsolete territorial designation), sit. at the confluence of the Ujla and the Ganges & within the Mirzāpūr municipal boundaries N.W.P. Dis. Gaz. 1884 Edn Vol. XIV p. 195.

3. Arāil is an ancient village immediately opposite the Allahabād fort at the right bank of the Jumna at its confluence with the Ganges. Imp. Gaz. Vol. X, p.332-333.

Khān Nūhāni (killed in the Bachgoti revolt), who was extremely beautiful, learned, and accomplished,[1] and came to Shamsabād. After a six month's halt in that place he came to Sambhal, and again left Sambhal for Shamsabād pillaging rebel strongholds on the way.[2]

After having stayed in Shamsabād during the rains, he marched against Rāi Bhīd of Riwa (Bhatthah) in 900H/1494 A.D., because he was still firm in his loyalty to the Sharqi cause, plundering the rebel strong-holds and pillaging their denizens all the way. He engaged and defeated Bīrsingh[3] s/o Rāi Bhīd at Khāran Khāti,[4] who fled towards Riwa with Sikandar Lodi close at the heel. Rāja Bhīd fled towards Sarkach followed by the Sultān. He however died on the way. From Sarkach the Sultān marched towards Sihonda[5] in the jurisdiction

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1. Makhzan M.U. Ms p.94.
2. The rebel strong-holds of Deo Mākal and Wazīrabād referred to in Tab.I, p.318 were situated perhaps in the Mainpūri district, U.P.
3. Narsing in Ferishta and Tab. Akb., A.S.B. and Lucknow texts; Birsingh in Makhzan and Maasir. He is Bīrsingh, perhaps the founder of Bīrsingh-pur city in Panna state. Imp. Gaz., XXI, p 221.
4. Khārankhāti or Khārānkhāti occurs frequently. I have not been able to identify it.
5. C.F. Tab. Akb. 1, 318. سلطان از سرکچ جانب سهنده از اعمال پتّه حرکت کرد ·Makhzan M.U. Ms. p. 84 and Ferishta Ms. have Paphūnd instead of Sihonda. Paphūnd is about 24.3 N and 81.8.E, and south of Riwa town, and 20 miles north of Bāndhogaṛh.

Retreat from Bhatthah (Baghel-khand.)

of Bhatthah,[1] Riwa, and according to Ni'amatūllah and Ferishta, continued this pursuit up to Paphūnd. He was, however compelled to retreat towards Jaunpūr perhaps due to a famine,[2] but on the way nine-tenths of his cavalry was destroyed by an inundation.[3]

Battle of Banaras; Husain Shah's defeat.

While the Sultān was reconstructing his army at Jaunpūr, Rāi Lakhmi-chand s/o Rāi Bhīd and all the zamīndārs of the locality joined hands with Ḥusain Shāh and informed him of the disaster that had befallen the Sultān's army and advised him not to lose an opportunity. Sultān Ḥusain collected a force including 100 elephants and came out of his last refuge in Behār. On learning this, Sultān Sikandar hastily crossed the Ganges by the Kantat ford and came to Banāras via Chunār, towards which place Ḥusain

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Sihonda on the right bank of the Ken river, is about 25.25 N and 80.40 E, in Bānda distt. U.P. Vide Imp. Atlas of India (Political), Surv. Gen's Pub. Calcutta, Sheet 63. Sihonda is a town in Girwān Tahsīl, 11 miles south of Bānda town in Bānda district, U.P. on the right bank of the Ken river in about 21.3 N and 81.25 E. Fuhrer Arch Survey of Ind. Rep., New Series Vol. II 58.

1. This word occurs in different forms پٹتھ - پٹھ - تتھ - پتتھ - پتھ - بہتتھ in the texts. The correct reading is Bhatthah or Bhatt country (Bhath<u>k</u>hoora) roughly speaking territories in and south of Bānda Distt. which were ruled by the Baghela dynastry of Hindu Kings, having Bāndhogaṛh as the administrative capital.
2. Mention is made of the shortage of opium, salt and oil in histories.
3. Khairūddīn, Jaunpūrnāma, M. U. Ms. p.13.

Shāh was moving and overtook the enemy only 36 miles (18 Karohs) from Banāras in 900 H/1494. Sālbāhan, the son of Rāi Bhīd, considering prudence the better part of valour, joined Sikandar.[1] In the battle that took place, Ḥusain Shāh being defeated disastrously fled towards Behār. The Sultān re-joined his camp in Banāras after a nine days' pursuit.

Sikandar pursues Husain. Shah who flies to Bengal 1494.

Leading the main army the Sultān marched towards Behār against Ḥusain Shāh. Ḥusain Shāh left Malik Kāndū in Behār town and himself fled towards Colgong,[2] then included in the kingdom of Lakhnauti (Bengal). At Deobār[3] the Sultān attacked and defeated Malik Kāndū who fled. Behār, the last retreat of Ḥusain Shāh was thus conquered in 900H/1494. Ḥusain Shah ruled in Behār from 888H to 900H 1493-1494 A. D., roughly 11 years. He was well received by Sultān 'Alāuddīn Ḥusain Shāh, king of Bengal 899-925/1493-1518 A.D. who fixed for him a handsome pension for his lifetime. He died in Gaur.[4]

1. Tab. Akb. 1, p.319.
2. Kohlgāon in Persian histories or Colgong town is a station on the E.I.R. 245 miles from Calcutta, in the Bhāgalpūr district, Behār, on the south bank of the Ganges. Beng. Dist. Gaz. Bhāgalpūr. p.16.
3. Deobār, is, I think, Dewār, a village in the extreme N.E. of the Bettiah sub-division, Champāran district Behār.
4. Ferishta Ms. ; Khairūddīn, following Ahmad Yādgār, says that Nasib Shāh (Nasrat Shāh) of Gaur married his daughter to price Jalālūddin s/o of Ḥusain Shāh Sharqi, because he had no sons. This Jalāluddīn carried his

The Sulṭān left Mubārak Khān Nūhāni with a few other nobles in Behār[1] and came to Darweshpur.[2] Leaving Khān Khānān Nūḥāni and Khān Jahān in charge of the camp and baggage, he turned towards Tirhūt,[3] whose Rāja submitted. He left Mubārak Khān Nūḥāni to collect tribute from the Rāja, worth several lacs of tankas, and came again to Darweshpūr to join the army head-quarters. From this place the Sultān went to visit the tomb of Shaikh Sharafūddīn Yahya Maneri,[4] a celebrated saint of

Invasion of Behar and annexation of Tirhut 901/1495.

father's dead body in 901 A.H. to be buried in the royal cemetery, in the Jāmi' Mosque compound in Jaunpūr. Khairūddīn speaks all lies, because neither 'Alāuddīn nor Nasrat Shāh were wanting in male progeny—the former being the father of 1½ dozen sons, who survived him. No other Persian source nor Stewart speaks of the marriage of prince Jalāluddīn. The inscription on Ḥusain Shāh's tomb in Jaunpūr was placed by Lord Curzon. I cannot think it was possible for Jalāluddīn to bury his father's body in 905 H, in the hay-day of Lodi power in the reign of Sikandar Lodi, his arch-enemy. Lord Curzon's authority was perhaps Khairuddīn's Jaunpūrnāma. Acc to Stewart (Hist. of Bengal p.113) Ḥusain Shāh Sharqi's tomb exists in Gaur in Bengal.

1. Behār is a very ancient city and head-qaurters of the sub-division of the same name in Patna distt. Behār sit. at 25.11 N & 85.31 E contains the tomb of Shāh Sharafuddīn Makhdum Maneri. Imp. Gaz. VII, p.17. It is on account of this that it is commonly known of Behār-Sharif.
2. Darweshpūr in Sherpūr Tahsīl, Patna district, Behār is is about 2 kos east of Maner township.
3. Tirhoot is an ancient territorial boundary comprising the districts of Champāran, Muzaffarpūr, Darbhanga and a strip of Nepāl terrai. Beng. Dist. Gaz. Darbhanga, 157-58.
4. Shaikh Sharafūddin Aḥmad Maneri, son of Shaikh Yahya, called also Makhdūm Yahya who (died in 1210 A.D.,

the Chishtiya order, perhaps on the occasion of the annual festival '("urs"), held at Behār on the 5th of Shaw-wāl each year. He next returned to Darweshpūr, where he received the news of the death of K͟hān Jahān, on the 6th of Shaw-wāl, 901; June 29, 1496 A.D.[1] The Sultān dubbed his son 'A'ẕam Humāyūn.' From Darweshpūr the Sultān marched against Sultān 'Alāuddīn of Bengal, who bing suspicions of Sikandar's military movements had sent a reconnoisance party under his son Prince Dānyāl, as soon as he heard of Sikandar's arrival at Tug͟hlaqpūr.[2] The Lodi army under the command of Mahmūd K͟hān Lodi and Mubārak K͟hān Lohāni, came face to face with him at

in Maner, 10 miles S.W. of Dīnāpore and 6 miles north of Bihta, on the E.I.R, now the Eastern Railway) was a celebrated sūfi and a forceful writer of Persian, Hindi and Pūrbi. He made a distinct contribution in the development of Islamised Hindi which developed later into the Urdu language. He is also invoked to cure snake-venom. He died in Behār town in 782/1380 and is buried there. His letters, by far the best of his production, are to be found in the K͟huda Bak͟hsh Oriental Library Bāukipore (c.f. Ms. No. 1585 and 1615, Vol.18, Persian Catalogue). He was a contemporary of S͟haik͟h Niẕāmuddīn of Delhi who had died before Shaik͟h Sharafuddīn reached Delhi, and a disciple of Shaik͟h Najībuddīn of Delhi. Vide Ak͟hbārūl Ak͟hiyār, Abdūl Ḥaq Haqqi p.113-8; 'Abdul Ḥaq, (Bābā-i-Urdu) Sufis' work in the early development of Urdu Language, Aurangabād, Deccan, 1933, p.19.

1. Other historians following Tab. Akb. place the Sultān's visit to Darweshpūr earlier than that to Behār. It is less possible because Darweshpūr east of Behār town.
2. Tug͟hlaqpūr is Tirhoot town named after G͟hiasāddīn Tug͟hlaq. Vide No. Wright's "The Sultāns of Delhi—their coins and Metallurgy." p.117.

Bāṛh.[1] In the end the two parties consented to terms of peace—the conditions being that neither party should encroach on each other's territories, that Sultān 'Alāuddīn should not shelter Sultān Sikandar's enemies and should agree to the seizure of Behār, Tirhoot and Sāran Sarkārs and all other territories conquered by Sikandar.[2] The peace terms being conveyed by Maḥmūd K̲h̲ān Lodi at Tug̲h̲laqpūr, the Sultān gave his approval. Mubārak K̲h̲ān Lohāni [Nūhāni] however died at Patna on the way to Tug̲h̲laqpūr. The Sultān came to Darweshpūr, his army head-quarter where he stayed for six months and marched back to Sāran after placing Darweshpūr[3] in the charge of Prince A'zam Humayūn Lodi, and Behār in charge of Daryā K̲h̲ān Nūhāni s/o the deceased Mubārak K̲h̲ān. This Darya K̲h̲ān, as we shall see rebelled in the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodi. The Sultān captured Sāran from the local Hindū chief and gave it to his soldiers in Jāgirs, and came back to Jaunpūr, where he stayed for six months It was on this occasion probably that he ordered the destruction of the palaces of the Sharqi kings, their gardens, and everything connected with their name including the mosques, which last were only saved by the protestations of the 'Ulama of Jaunpūr.[4]

Treaty of Barh with Bengal.

1 Bāṛh town is in the Patna dist. Behār, on the E.I.R. [now E. R.] Main line, 299 miles from Calcutta. Imp. Gaz. Vol. VII, p.15.

2. Tab. Akb. I, p. 320.

3. Vide F. N. on p. 72 No. 2.

4. This tradition is very common in Jaunpūr. Vide U.P. Dist. Gaz. Vol. XXVII

CHAPTER V

SULTĀN SIKANDAR LODĪ (Continued)

The Sultān had reason to be proud of his victory over Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī. He had finally subjugated his enemy and the enemy of his dynasty, who on more than one occasion attacked and almost conquered Delhi. With the conquest of Behār and its dependencies, the Sharqī dynasty is finally extinguished. After making the eastern frontiers secure against possible attacks by concluding a treaty with Sultān 'Alāuddīn of Bengal, and amply satisfying his lust for destruction in Jaunpūr city, the next task for the Sultān was to subjugate the allies and feudatories of Ḥusain Shāh

Second invasion Bhatthah of, 1498.

The gravest criminal in his eyes was the Rāja of Bhatthah (Riwa), who had invited Ḥusain Sharqī to fall upon Sikandar. Secondly his failure to conquer Bhatthah during his campaign of 1494 A.D. (900 H.) was a standing disgrace to his military prowess, and thirdly Rāi Sālbāhan, the son and successor of Rāi Bhīd, had offended him by refusing to give him one of his daughters, in marriage. These considerations prompted him to invade Bhatthah in 904 H, 1498

A.D. The Sultān avenged his wrath by plundering Bhatthah territories very ruthlessly. He marched on the fort of Bāndhogaṛh,[1] "the strongest fort in the province and the capital of Bhahttah," a second time. As it was very strong and heroically defended by the besieged, the Sultān failed to reduce it. and abandoning the siege came to Jaunpūr, thoroughly devastating the territories on his line of retreat.

Return to Jaunpur.

During his stay in Jaunpūr, he busied himself mostly in administrative works. He found Mubārak K͟hān Lodi Mochi-K͟hail, the governor of Jaunpūr [after the imprisonment of Bārbak Shāh.] guilty of embezzlement, when his accounts were examined by the Sultān. He showed him no mercy in spite of the recommendations and intercessions of Mubārak K͟hān's kith and kin. He ordered for the realization of several years, of revenue as settled by the royal assessment, from Mubārak K͟hān.[2] This harsh but just treatment displeased many nobles[3] who took it as a bad augury for the future.

From Jaunpūr the Sultān went towards Sambhal, where he stayed for four years (905-09/ 1499-1503),

1. Bāndhogaṛh—an old fort in Riwa State standing on a hill 2,664 feet above the sea level in 23.41 N and 81.3 E and 60 miles south of Riwa town. Imp. Gaz. Vol. VI p.359. Thornton Gaz. I.
2. Ṭab. Akb. I, p.321; Mak͟hzan M.U. Ms. p.96; Ferishta M.U. Ms.

حکم شد که از و حاصل چند سال موافق بربست سلطان
تحصیل نمایند -

3. Ferishta M. U. Ms.

Sultan stays at Sambhal 905-09/ 1499-1503.

on account of his intense liking for the climate of the place,[1] dividing his time between serious duties of administration and vigorous sports, game-hunting and polo-playing. It was during this time that a serious plot was hatched for dethroning him, a plot which had its seat in Sambhal and its ramification in Delhi and the Punjāb.

It had its beginnings in the Sultān's rough handling of Mubārak K͟hān Mochi-K͟hail at Jaunpūr which displeased many Paṭhān nobles. The continued absence of the Sultān from the western provinces owing to his preoccupation in the eastern campaigns, gave the nobles, ever-alert on utilising an opportunity, scope to mature their plans. The Sultān came to know of the existence of the plot after some incidents in the polo-ground. As the Sultān had come to play one day,[2] the bat of Sulaimān, son of Daryā K͟hān, accidentally clashed with the bat of Haibat K͟hān and struck the former's head causing a wound. By way of revenge K͟hiẓr K͟hān, brother of Sulaimān K͟hān wilfully struck his bat on Haibat K͟hān's head. Maḥmūd K͟hān and K͟hān K͟hānān pacified Haibat K͟hān and conducted him to his house. But the feeling among the parties ran so high that the Sultān dared not come out of his residence till the fourth day When he came out again, Shams K͟hān, a relative of Haibat K͟hān ambushed and struck the head of K͟hiẓr K͟hān with a bat. A

Polo-ground incident.

1. Mak͟hzan M. U. Ms. p.97.

2. 'Abdūllah rightly records it as happening in Sambhal.

tumult was raised and Shams K͟hān was thrashed by order of the Sultān. The aggrieved party swarmed to join the ranks of the malcontents and plotters. The Sultān, suspicious of something unusual, kept himself shut up in his palace and engaged some loyal nobles to guard it fully armed. The plot was being matured at this time. Twenty-two nobles, tired of the strong rule of Sikandar, conspired to to place prince Fatḥ K͟hān on the throne by deposing Sikandar. The prince divulged this secret to his mother and to Shaik͟h Ṭāhir his spiritual guide. The Shaik͟h advised the prince to give out the secrets, in order to absolve himself from complicity. The Sultān after he had came to know of all facts, deported or killed every confederate together with his accomplices. Sultān Sikander, to his surprise, found that Aṣg͟har[1] Khān whom he left in Delhi as the governor of the city, and some leading nobles of the Punjāb, were parties to the plot. He ordered K͟hawās K͟hān, governor of Māchhiwāra[2] to send Aṣg͟har under arrest. Before the arrival of K͟hawās K͟hān to Delhi, Aṣg͟har slipped from the Delhi fort (906/1500) and straightway came to the Sultān's court at Sambhal to crave for his forgiveness. He was imprisoned by order of the Sultān. Placing Delhi in charge of his

Conspiracy to depose Sikandar.

1. Reference is made in the texts of his "bad conduct" only.
بد عملی و زشت کرداری

2. Māchhiwāra town is in Ludhiāna dist[illegible] the Punj. (30.55 N & 76.12 E) 27 miles from Ludhiāna. Imp. Gaz. Th. Gaz. II.

son, K͟hawās K͟hān also visited the Sultān's court and was rewarded. But the Sultān showed no mercy to the Punjāb plotters including Sa'id K͟hān Sherwāni, Tātār K͟hān and Maḥmūd Shāh, who like Aṣg͟har had come to Sambhal anticipating the Sultān's summons. The Sultān executed some and deported the rest. They took their way towards Gujrāt *via* Gwālior.[1]

Soon after (in 907-1501), the Sultān received a mission from Rājā Mān of Gwālior who it seems, wanting to appease the Sultān's wrath caused by his sheltering the refugee nobles of Sikandar, sent presents and made assurances of friendship and loyalty through Nihāl, a eunuch. Receiving unsatisfactory and impolite replies the Sultān angrily dismissed the mission, and threatened to invade Gwālior. Meanwhile, 'Imādul Mulk and Sulaimān on whom had been conferred Bayāna, after their father K͟hān K͟hānān's death, were compelled to quit it on account of 'attacks by rebels,' perhaps incited by the Dholpūr Rājā. This gave Sikandar an excuse for invading Dholpūr. The Sultān gave the governorship of Bayāna to K͟hawās K͟hān, made Ṣafdar K͟hān the 'Amaldār of Agra, then a dependency of Bayāna, and gave to 'Imād and Sulaimān Farmali, Jalesar,[2] Mangloor,[3] Shahābād[4] and other parganas instead of Shamsabād.

Raja Man's mission.

Bayana incidents.

1. Though not mentioned by any chronicler, 'Alam K͟hān appesrs to be one of the deportees of this occasion.

2. Jalesar, pargana of which the head quarter is Jalesar town lies between the Isān and Sirsa rivers in Etah dist. U.P. U.P. Distt. Gaz. Vol. XII p., 175.

The Sultān gave orders to 'Alam Khān governor of Miwāt and Khān Khānān Lohani, governor of Rāpri to attack Dholpūr with the co-operation of Khawās Khān of Bayāna. Rāi Mānik Deo (Rājā Mānik Dev), the Rāja of Dholpūr offered battle as soon as the invaders reached Dholpūr and laid siege to the fort. Skirmishes took place daily in which a large number of Muslims were killed including Khwāja Baban,[1] a very brave warrior. On hearing this news, the Sultān moved from Sambhal towards Dholpūr with great haste, reaching it on Friday the 6th Ramazān 906H., March 25, 1501 A. D. When he drew near Dholpūr, Rāi Mānik Deo[2] fled from Dholpūr to Gwālior leaving his family and dependents in the Dholpūr fort. His men unable to withstand the attack quitted the fort at midnight. Thus the next morning Dholpūr fort was conquered without further opposition. The Lodī soldiers resorted to

Siege of Dholpur.

Conquest of Dholpur.

3. Manglor—a town in Sahrānpūr distt. U.P., in the route from Saharānpūr to Bijnaur. Sit. 29.47 N, 77.57 E. Thornton Gaz. IV, 412.

4. Shahābād. There are several Shahābāds of which two are in U.P. both being Tahsil head quarters of the same name one in Rāmpūr state, sit at 28.43 N and 79.26 E and the other in Hardoi distt. sit. 27.23 N and 79.57 E. The former Shahābād is implied here.

1. Baban in Tab. A.S.B. text p.324; Jaman in Ferishta M.U. Ms. and Badāūni I, p.318.

2. Mānik Deo—Makhzan M. U. Ms. p.98. Bināyak Deo—Tabaqāt and Ferishta, Lucknow; Sārang Deo in Ferishta M. U. Ms.

pillage and destruction and "uprooted the gardens (most probably a preserved forest) in the vicinity of Dholpūr whosc trees gave shade for a distance of seven karohs (14 miles)."[1] The Sultān stayed at Dholpūr for a month and leaving Ādam Lodī with a large number of nobles, at Dholpūr, he marched towards Gwālior, whose Rājā had done him double wrong—first by harbouring the plotters who fled from his kingdom[2] and secondly by sheltering Rājā Mānik Deo of Dholpūr.

Pillage and Destruction.

After crossing the Chambal river, the Sultān encamped on the banks of the Āsi (Āsan),[3] commonly called Mindki," for two months. Due to the foulness of the water, a dreadful epidemic appeared in the army. Rājā Mān sued for peace by sending a plenipotentiary. He expelled from the fort Sa'id Khān, Bābū Khān, and Rāi Ganesh,[4] the plotters and rebels who had fled from the Sultān's kingdom and had sought his shelter.

March on Gwalior 208/1502.

As a token of his sincerity, he sent his son Prince Bikramājit as a hostage to the Sultān. The Sultān became so pleased with this gesture that he not only conferred a robe

Peace with Raja Man. 909/1503.

1. Mentioned in Ṭab, Makhzan, Ferishta, Badāūni and all the rest.
2. Ferishta M. U. Ms.
3. A lake stream in Gwālior State, C.I. between 26-26.5 N & 77.75 E. Vide Imp. Atlas of India (Political) Surv General's Office. Cal. Sheet 54.
4. The Chauhān Jāgīrdār of Patiāli.

of honour on Prince Bikrāmajīt but later, gave back Dholpūr to Rājā Mānik Deo and came to Āgra[1] and spent the rains there (909 H). 1503 A.D.

In 910/1504 after the rising of the Canopus, the Sultān marched for the conquest of the fort of Madrael[2] which seems to have been outside the Gwālior State in those days. The motive and cause are not known definitely. The defenders asked for quarters and surrendered the fort. The Sultān demolished the temples and built mosques instead. He left Miān Makan and Mujāhīd Khān in charge of the fort, plundered and pillaged the land, buildings and gardens, took prisoners and returned to Agra. This time due to excessive heat most people of the Bayāna Sarkār fell ill of fever and jāgirdars and tenants of the crown lands of the locality were in constant terror of the Rājpūt marauders, whose subjugation was never thoroughly effected in that area—rebels whose

Capture of Mandrael.

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1. The meaning of the text in Makhzan p.99 is not very clear cf.

سلطان بعد از صلح بصوب آگره معاودت نموده چون بدهولپور رسید آن محال را نیز براجه مانک دیو بخشیده ببیانه که مستقر سریر خلافت بود تشریف آورده -

Nia'matūllah makes a confusion between Āgra and Bayāna. Other historians mention about Āgra to which place the Sultān went for spending the rainy season.

2. Madrael or Mandrael corresponds to Mandril, a Tahsil town in the Karauli state on the right bank of the Pārbati river, 62 miles west from Gwālior, in 26.14 N and 77.15 E. Imp. Atlas. Sur. Gen.'s Office, Cal. Sheet 54. Imp. Gaz. Vol. XV p.25 ff; Āin II, Jarrett p. 190.

haunt was on the outer side of the Jamna river in the Bayāna Sarkār. On repeated representations being made to the Sultān he was on the look out for a suitable site for a city on the bank of the Jamna, with cantonments for soldiers to keep the rebels in submission. According to Nia'matullah, in 911/1506 he appointed a commission consisting of a number of wisemen to sail in the Jamna, examine 'both sides of the bank and report.'[1] On their selecting a site, they informed the Sultān who went on boat for the inspection of it personally. He saw two elevated places, from Muthra and asked his boatman, "Naik" which of these he liked. He answered, "Agra" *i.e.* the one in front, whereupon the Sultān smiled, and gave the name 'Āgra' to the new city which he ordered to be built. "Thus in the village of Bas-hi and Poiya[2] in the Pargana of Doli (Deoli), Bayāna sarkār, the city was built and 9 parganas out of a total fifty two from Bayāna sarkār were included in it."[3] Ordering the

Foundation of Agra.

1. Makhzan p. 100.
2. Ibid p.100.
Poiya is a village in Tahsīl Itmādpūr, Āgra distt. sit. 27.15 N and 78.2 E, 4 miles from Āgra. U.P. Distt. Gaz. Vol.VIII.
3. This interesting story of the foundation of Āgra is mentioned in Makhzan-i-Afghāni and Tarikh-i-Khān Jahān Lodi only. The naming of the city Āgra at the utterance 'Agra' or ahead, seems to be invented. Firstly because if the Sultān was in search of a site to keep off the marauders he would not have asked a commission to examine both sides of the river. Secondly Āgra is not mentioned for the first time. The name Agra was still the name of the place wh:ch the Sultān conquered it in 1491, and thirdly though mentioned by Nia'matullah, 'Abdūllah

construction of a fort, the Sultān reached Dholpūr, which he took away from Rāi Mānik Deo and handed it over to Malik Qamruddīn.[1] He returned to Āgra (911/1506) and allowed the nobles to go to their Jāgīrs.

During his stay in Āgra,[2] a terrible earthquake took place on the 3rd Safar 911 (July 6, 1505 A.D.).

Earthquake of 911/1505

It was so severe that "mountains trembled and lofty buildings tumbled down. The living thought of the day of destruction and the dead of resurrection". The date of the event has been preserved in the chronogram "Qāẓi", (قاضی). That day tremours were felt in most of the cities and villages of Hindustān.

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and 'Abdūl Haq (Tārīkh-i-Haqqi Bānkipore), that Āgra was a village, it is difficult to take it literally, for, in the earth-quake taking place on the 3rd Ṣafar 911, the year of the so-called foundation of Āgra, many lofty buildings were destroyed in Āgra which implies that there was already a city.

There is only one conclusion—that Sikandar removed the seat of government and ordered for the foundation of a new city on the southern side of the Jamna.

Ferishta (M. U. Ms.) implies that Sikandar removed the seat of government from Delhi to Āgra in 909/1503—a place which was never the capital either in Hindu or Musalmān times.

The only dispute is regarding the date. I am inclined to think that Āgra was converted into an occasional seat of government after his return to it in 909/1503, for the first time since its conquest in 897/1491, from Sambhal which was the seat of his kingdom during the last four years.

1. Qamruddīn according to Ṭabaqāt and Ferishta M. U. Ms. ; Mu'īzuddīn in Makhzan.
2. The presumption in favour of his stay is greater all the more because of the approach of the rains.

Once again in 911 after the rise of the Canopus the Sultān marched towards Gwālior. The cause appears to be the trouble created by the Gwalior Rāja who espoused the cause of Rāja Mānik Deo of Dholpūr following his expulsion a second time by Sultān Sikandar. On his way he stayed for a month in Dholpūr and reached Gwalior territory by crossing the Chambal river.[1] He left princes Ibrāhīm Khān and Jalāl Khān at Dholpūr and pursued the Rājputs to the hills and jungles and slaughtered and captured them. Due to the difficulty of transportation, which prevented the grain merchants from coming,[2] there was scarcity of provisions. When the imperial army reached Chatawar[3] in Gwalior state, the advance guard of the royal army marching 4 miles ahead of the main army was attacked from an ambush. A sanguinary battle ensued resulting in the victory of the imperial troops mainly through the heroism of Awadh Khān

Invasion of Gwalior, 1505.

Retreat.

1. The place of crossing is variously given as Gorakh (Maa'sīr & Ferishta) Kur in Makhzan & Kisla in Ṭab. Akb. A.S.B., I., 326.

2. Ṭab. Akb. I, p. 326.

بواسطه عدم آمد و شد بنجاره بلشکر غله کمتر میرسید -

That is, Banjāra, from Sanskrīt 'Banij' a merchant, a wandering grain-merchant, both Hindu and Musalmān mostly having no fixed house and living in temporary huts. Vide Elliot's Memoirs of the Races of N. W. Provinces Vol. I p.52-6; Ibbetson, Punjāb Census Rep 1881, p.272 and 299.

3 Chantawār--is placed by Abul Fazl in Gwālior Sarkā *Vide* Āīn Jarrett, II, p.187.

and Aḥmad K͟hān son of K͟hān K͟hānān. A large numberof Rājpūts were killed. The Sūltān did not proceed further but returned to Āgra via Dholpūr and spent the rains there, after leaving in the latter place a number of his nobles including Awadh K͟hān.

In 912 (1506) after the rise of the Canopus, he sent an advance party under 'Imād K͟hān Farmali and Mujāhid K͟hān with a strong army for the conquest of the fort of Untgaṛh,[1] regarded as the key to Gwālior.[2] He stayed for some time in the metropolis for disposing administration business. He dubbed Qāẓi 'Abdullah son of Ṭahīr Kābuli, an inhabitant of Thāneswar town, Shaik͟h 'Umar and Shaik͟h' Ibrāhīm as Chamberlains (Hājib) and conferred the governorship of Kālpi on Jalāl K͟hān.[3] Hāji K͟hān and Bhikhan K͟hān brothers of Jalāl K͟hān having quarrelled amongst themselves the Sultān recalled them and superseded them by Fīrūz Awān.[4] The Sultān joined the advance party at Dholpūr and leaving Mujāhid K͟hān there, he crossed the Cham-

Investment of Untgarh. 912/1506.

1. Untgarh, Utgar, or Utgir is a Tahsil town in Karauli State (Central India) 1,479 ft. above sea-level. Āīn, Jarrett, II, p. 190, Imp. Gaz. XV, 25 ff.

2. Ranking's note in Badāuni's translation.

3. Jalāl K͟hān S/O Maḥmūd K͟hān Lodi, the son of Mubārak K͟hān, son of Bahlul Lodi. Vide Mak͟hzan and Tabaqāt. Vide also author's article entitled 'Ālam K͟hāns of the early sixteenth century' published in the Proc of All Pakistan History Conf., Karachi, 1951. p. 224

4. For Awāns see Punjāb Distt. Gaz. Mianwālli Distt. p.59.

bal and appeared in Untgarh 912/1505, and after collecting all siege implements he launched an offensive from all directions, at an hour considered propitious by the astrologers. 'The attackers clasped round the fort like ants and locusts and fought heroically,'[1] against a brave defence of the Rājpūts. At last a breach was made in the wall of the fort from the side of Malik 'Alāuddīn and a hand-to-hand fight ensued. The fort was taken by assault, but the Rājpūts continued to offer a desperatere sistance after concealing themselves in their houses. Malik 'Alāūddīn was struck in his eyes with arrows and blinded. But nothing availed. "The rest of the defenders fought desperately and their wives and children became the food of the Jauhar fire."[2] The Sultān put Mujāhid Khān in charge of the fort and busied himself in demolishing temples and building mosques on their sites. But when he learnt that Mūjāhid Khān had taken bribes from the Rāja of Untgarh for the ejection of the Muslims from that place, the Sultān imprisoned Mulla Jaman, the Chamberlain and an accomplice of Mujāhid Khān on the 16th Muharram 913, and ordered his Afghan kinsmen to imprison Mujāhid Khān. He left for Āgra during the end of Muḥarram,[3] 913/1507 A.D. During his return to Ágra through a

Its conquest and Pillage.

1. Ṭab. Akb. A.S.B.T. p.327. Makhzan M.U. Ms. p.102; Ferishta.
2. Badāūni Vol. I, A.S.B.T. p.320.
3. Makhzan, M.U. Ms. p. 103

narrow and rugged way, he had made an encampment to facilitate the smooth marching of troops through defiles and prevent over-crowding. yet a large number of men and beasts perished for want of water. On that day of passing through the hills of Untgaṛh and Dholpūr, the price of a cup of water reached 15 tankas. Some died of thirst some of excessive drinking of water when they got it. When counted by royal order after reaching safe ground, only 800 men came to muster. On the 27th Muḥarram 913 (June 8, 1507) the Sultān came to Āgra to spend the rains.

Disaster on return journey.

CHAPTER VI

SULTĀN SIKANDAR LODĪ

Relations with Multān, Kashmır, Mālwa and the last years of his reign.

Sultān Sikandar Lodī's reign begins with the opening of diplomatic relatioms with the kingdom of Multān,* which Bahlul Lodī had attempted to conquer but failed. When Sultān Bahlul died in 894 H (1489), Ḥusain Shāh Langa (acc. 874/-1499),[1] sent a friendly mission to Delhi, expressing condolence and proposed a treaty of peace by sending presents. A treaty was concluded between the courts of Delhi and Multān,

* Lodi-Langa relations may be read from the author's article entitled "Relation of the kingdom of of Multān with the Delhi Sultanat", published in the Journal of the Aligarh Historical Research Society, No. 1, 1941, p. 75 ff.

(1) For Ḥusain Shāh Langā's relations with Bahlul Vide Chapter II. Ferishta is right in putting the accession (cf. Vol. II Lucknow 1. p. 325) of Ḥusain Langā to H.874/1499. Niẓāmuddīn in his Ṭab. Vol. III, p. 526 attributes to Ḥusain Shāh a total reign of 34 or 36 years and yet puts his accession to 865 H and his death to 904 or 908 H.

Treaty of friendship with Multan 1489.

on condition that each contracting party should be the other's ally, that neither should violate the other's territories, that both should help each other and never refuse such help on any pretext. The treaty was signed by the nobles and courtiers of both the parties and the Multān envoys were sent back with presents and robes of honour.[1] Ḥusain Langa abdicated the throne in his old age in favour of his son Fīrūz Shāh Langa and retired to a life of devotion. Fīrūz Langa was however poisoned by his Wazīr 'Imādul Mulk to avenge the treacherous murder of his son Bilāl by orders of the king.[2] At this Ḥusain Langa emerged from his retirement, once more assumed charge of the government, and nominated his grandson Maḥmūd Langa, son of Fīrūz Langa, as his successor.

Abdication of Husain Langa and accession of Mahmud Langa.

Ḥusain Langa avenged the wrong by treacherously seizing 'Imādul Mulk through his maternal uncle,[3] Jām Bāyazīd whom he made Wazīr and the tutor[4] of the young Maḥmūd. Ḥusain Shāh died in 908 H/1502 A.D., according to another version in 904/1498.[5]

The youthful Maḥmūd chose his companion from people of low morals and character. He was given to understand by his companions that Jām

(1) Ṭab. Akb. Niẓāmuddīn Vol. III, p. 530, A.S.B.; Ferishta Lucknow Vol. II, p. 327.

(2) Ṭab. Akb. III, A.S.B. p. 533; Ferishta Lucknow II, P. 328.

(3) Ṭab. Akb. III, p. 529.

(4) Atāliq.

(5) Tab. Akb. III, p. 534.

Bāyazīd was disobedient to the Sultān. They cited as examples his residence in his own palace, outside the city, his non-appearance in the court and interpreted his punishing of some peculating revenue collecotors as determined persecution of loyal servants.[1] They all conspired to seize 'Ālam Khān, son of Bāyazīd, when he came to attend court as usual. 'Ālam Khān, unable to withstand the blows, whipped out his dagger at his attackers and wielded it right and left causing a wound to the King who was one of the group. A'lam Khān released himself, when the attention of the king's unworthy favourites was drawn to the cries of the king for help.[2] Bāyazīd sent 'Ālam Khān to the fort of Shor (Shorkot) on the left bank of the Chenāb with an army and himself followed soon after, cutting and defeating the royal army sent after him. On reaching Shor, Bāyazīd prayed for Sikandar Lodī's help against Mahmūd Langa and read the "Khutba" and issued the "Sikka" in the name of Sultān Sikandar Lodī at that place. Sikandar Lodī assured him of his help and ordered Daulat Khān Lodī, the governor of the Punjāb to proceed to his assistance. Maḥmūd Langa marched against Shor[3] with a fresh army. Jām Bāyazīd and 'Ālam Khān advanced 20 miles from the fort to oppose Maḥmūd and were joined by Daulat Khān Lodī, just arrived with the Punjāb

Mahmud Langa tries to murder Alam Khan S/o Bavazid.

Jam Bavazid seeks Sul. Sikandar's help.

(1) Ṭab. Akb. III, p. 535. Ferihsta Lucknow II, 329.

(2) Ṭab. Akb. III, p. 536. Ferishta, Lucknow II, 329.

(3) *Vide* foot note on p. 33 No. 2

army. After standing face to face for some time the parties agreed to peace and departed on condition that the river Rāvi should be the boundary between the two kingdoms and neither party should encroach on the other's territory. Jām Bāyazīd returned to Shor as a portege of the Lodīs, and Daulat Khān retired to the Punjāb. This treaty however did not last long, says the historian, perhaps it was violated soon after Sikandar Lodī's death.[1]

Treaty with Multan.

From after the time of Sultān Abū Sa'eed Mirza the solidarity of the Timurid empire had come to an end. Kābul and the western provinces slipped away, their dominions had in India, included Shor, Khushāb, Chenāb, Bhera and Chinot. During the reign of Ghāzi Khān, son of Mīrza 'Ali Beg, the Timurid ruler of the Indian possessions, Husain Shāh Langa of Multān had conquered the fort of Shor and Chinot.[2] Sayyid 'Ali Khān, son of Ghāzi Khān, dreading the king of Multān had acknowledged the overlordship of Sultān Sikandar Lodī by reading the "khutba" and issuing 'Sikka' in the latter's name. After Bābar's first appearance on the Indian frontier in 910/1505, and departure, Daulat Khān Lodī, son of Tātār Khān Lodī, the governor of the Punjāb annexed Bhera, Khushāb and Chenāb, to

Sikandar's relation with the Timurid Princes.

(1) Ṭab. Akb. III, A.S.B. 538; Ferishta p.329, Vol II, Lucknow. Multān was conquered by Bābar in 932. 1525-26 cf. Ṭab, p. 543, III. Mrs. Bev. Baburnāma II

(2) Mrs. Bev. Baburnāma I, p. 382, Ṭab. Akb. III. p. 526. Ferishta Luck. II. 326.

prevent these territories falling under the hands of a Timurid prince (Babar) who claimed them as his heritage.

Sikandar Lodi's relation with Kashmir.

Sultān Sikandar was more successful in Kashmīr than his father. Sultān Muḥammad of Kashmīr who defeated Tātār K͟hān Lodī at Bhimbar in 892/1493 A.D.[1] lost his throne in 902 H/1496 A.D. after a contest with his uncle Fath K͟hān,[2] son of Ādam K͟hān son of Sultān Zainul 'Ābedīn and was imprisoned. He escaped from prison and regained his throne probably with the support of the Lodīs in 911/1505 A.D., only to lose it to Fath K͟hān 13 months later in 912/1506.[3] After his second expulsion, Muḥammad Shāh sought the protection of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, who sent a large force to Kashmīr to his assistance. The Lodi army defeated the Kashmīris in an engagement in which the Kashmīr general Jahāngīr Khān Bākri was slain with his son and his army defeated. Fath K͟hān fled to Hindustān where he died in 932/-1526. Thus Muhammad Shāh who regained the throne of Kashmīr for the third time remained

(1) *Vide* p.34.

(2) Niẕāmuddīn cf. Ṭab. III p.350, makes a statement that Prince Fath K͟hān was made the governor of the Punjāb after Tātār K͟hān Lodti's death. Ferishta does not do so. According to 'Abbas Sherwāni 'Umar K͟hān sesucceeded Tātar K͟hān Lodi as the governor of the Punjāb. cf. Elliot IV, Tar. Shershāhi p.309.

(3) Ferishta II, Lucknow p. 351.

a protege of the Lodīs till Sikandar Lodī's death, though there is nothing to point out that the Sultān of Delhi and Āgra exercised any control in the internal affairs of the country. Thus Sultān Sikandar Lodī was equally successful in his Kashmīr campaigns and in reducing its king to the position of an ally, perhaps a vassal. This tutelage was never galling and ended with the accession of Ibrāhīm Lodī when civil war took place only to end in the disaster of Pānipat.

Relations with Malwa.

The conquest of Dholpūr and expeditions in Gwālior, Bhattha in Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand had brought Sultān Sikandar Lodī in direct contact with Mālwa. In 906 H/1500 A.D. died Sultān G̱ẖiāsuddīn Ḵẖalji of Mālwa[1] Sultān G̱ẖiāsyuddīn was at first imprisoned by his son Nāseruddīn after a fatricidal war between Prince Nāṣeruddin and Prince Shuj'at Ḵẖān in which Rāni Ḵẖurshīd espoused the cause of her younger son Shuj'at Ḵẖān. Later on, he was probably poisoned by prince Nāṣeruddin. Sultān Nāṣeruddīn Ḵẖalji proved a hard drunkard and merciless tyrant. During the later years of his reign, affairs in Mālwa were in confusion. The nobles, officers and courtiers were in constant dread of him. He watched the princes with suspicion so much so that the crown prince dared not come in his presence. The nobles induced the crown

(1) Ṭab. Akb. A.S.B. Vol. III, p. 351.
For G̱ẖiāsuddīn Ḵẖilji's relations with Bahlul Lodi in connexion with Ranthambhor campaign see Chap. II.

prince Shihābuddīn to lead a revolt. Thus events in Mālwa were turning in Sultān Sikandar's favour, giving him an opportunity to seize Mālwa territories.

After the rising of Canopus in the year 913/-1507 the Sultān marched against the strong and massive fort of Narwar[1] then in the jurisdiction of Mālwa. Jalāl K͟hān Lodī was ordered to move from Kālpi and take it by storm if it was not peacefully surrendered. The Sultān personally came to Narwar some days after. On the second day, when he came out to review the army, Jalāl K͟hān Lodī[2] arrayed his huge army consisting of cavalry, elephantry and infantry in order to get his maintenance allowance increased. The Sultān, alarmed at the armed strength of one of his relatives and noble and apprehending that one day this army might be employed against him, made up his mind to overthrow Jalāl K͟hān slowly. The Narwar siege 'lasted for a year' because the fort was strong and extended to 8 Karohs (16 miles) in length with hills around it.' When repeated attacks failed with great loss to the besiegers, the Sultān ordered a general assault from all sides with siege

Investment of Narwar.

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(2) Nerwar or Nerwar in Gwalior state, on the route from Kālpi to Kotah, 152 miles S.W. of the former and 169 miles N.L. of the latter and situated on the right bank of the river Sindh. Thor. Gaz. Vol. III, Also Āīn, Jarrett, II, 190.

(2) **Vide* fn No. 4 on p. 61. also 9 genealogical Table at the end.

engines.[1] The Sultān watching the operation from the roof of his residence saw a breach made only to be closed by the defenders. Abandoning further assault he ordered a close siege.[2] The Sultān won over Jalāl K̲h̲ān's picked men to his side and this broke his army. He sent two orders—one in the name of Ibrāhīm K̲h̲ān Nūhāni, Sulaimān Farmali and Malik 'Alāuddīn Jilwāni for imprisioning Jalāl K̲h̲ān and another in the name of Miān Bhoa the Wazīr, Sa'eed K̲h̲ān, son of Zakū and Malik Adam Kākar[3] to put Jalāl K̲h̲ān and Sher K̲h̲ān in chains and imprison them in Untgaṛh fort.

Disgrace of Jalal Khan.

Meanwhile the defenders of Narwar fort being reduced to great straits for want of water and provisions asked for quarters and were allowed to leave the fort with their moveables. The Sultān halted at the foot of Narwar for six months during which he ordered the construction of mosques.

Reduction of Narwar, 914.

On the 26th of Sha'bān 914 H. Dec. 10, 1508 A.D. Sultān Sikandar left Narwar but returned to it when he had proceeded as far as the bank of the Sipra (Zilh. 914/April, 1509) to refortify it, and strengthened it by constructing another fortification round the existing one, to minimise the chances of its falling into the hands of the enemy. This done, he came

(1) طرح - ساطور - زاغ نول و بیل missiles, heavy knife, battle-axe and spade, respectively.

(2) Mak̲h̲zan M.U.Ms. p.104.

(3) For the Kākars see foot note on p.16.

to Lahāer,[1] where Ni'mat K̲h̲ātūn, the widow of Quṭb K̲h̲ān Lodī and the wet-nurse of prince Jalāl K̲h̲ān Lodī[2] came to recommend the disgraced prince for a royal pardon. At her request the Sarkār of Kālpi was once more bestowed as Jāgīr on Prince Jalāl in addition to other gifts—120 horses, 15 elephants, a robe of honour and cash.

On the 10th Muḥarram 915, April 30, 1509, the Sultān left Lahāer and marched upon Hatkānt,[3] the stronghold of the Bhadauria Rājpūts. He pursued the rebels and to prevent a recurrence of the trouble, he established police stations (thānas) in different strategic centres[4] and returned to Agra.

Return to Agra.

During his stay in Agra he dismissed and imprisoned Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, son of Mubārak K̲h̲ān (Lodī) governor of Lucknow[5] on his reported apostacy from Islām[6] and bestowed the Sarkār to his brother Sa'īd K̲h̲ān.

Meanwhile in Mālwa events were taking place with spectacular rapidity. Prince Shīhābuddīn being encouraged by the nobles to raise a revolt

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(1) Lahāer is a town in Gwālior state six miles east of the right bank of the Sindh river (sit. 26.12 N; 78.59 E).

(2) Ferishta Ms.

(3) See foot note on P.42. It is also mentioned in Akbar's reign as being the strong-hold of the Bhadaurias. U.P. Distt. Gaz. Vol. VIII. p.280.

(4) جابجا تهانه گذاشته Makhzan. Tab., Ferishta.

(5) Not Lucknauti as in Tab. 1 p. 331. for Lakhnauti, a parganah in Sahāranpūr Sarkār (Ain, Jarr, II 297) was not a Sarkār.

(6) Tab. A.S.B. I, p.331, Makhzan M.U.Ms. p.105.

Prince Shihabuddin of Malwa comes to Sipri.

against Sultān Nāṣeruddīn, his father, slipped one night in 916 H[1]/1510 A.D. from Māndū and came to Sipri,[2] a town in the frontiers of Chanderi. When the prince did not consent to return to his father, even after assurances of paternal affection and pardon, Sultān Nāṣeruddīn deprived prince Shīhābuddīn of his birth-right and nominated his third son,[3] Prince A'ẕam Humāyūn as his heir.

Faced with this situation, prince Shīhābuddīn threw himself under the protection of Sultān Sikandar Lodī. The Sultān sent him a robe of honour and horses and informed him of his readiness to help him on condition of his ceding Chanderi.[4] Fearing the intervention of Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt in Mālwa, the Sultān sent a friendly mission to Maḥmūd Gujrāti (Zilh. 916/March, 1511), with

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(1) In Tab. Vol. I, p.330, Nizāmūddīn places the arrival of the Prince to Sipri in 914 when Sultān Sikandar had reduced Narwar fort. In Vol. III, p.373, he places the event to 916. The latter appears to be more correct.

2) سری In Tab. Vol. III, p. 373; سیری In Vol. I p.330, Sipar in Makhzan M.U.Ms. P. 10.4; Siprah (سپره) in Maāsīr-i Rahīmi. Ferishta has Sindh.

Sipri is the head-quarter of the Narwar distt. Gwālior, Central India, sit. 25.26 N and 77.30 E. Imp. Gaz. Vol. XVIII p.15.

(3) Ferishta Lucknow II, p.263.

(4) Chanderi—town and old impregnable fort in the Narwar Distt., Gwalior State, Central India, situated in 24.34 N, and 78.9 E, 1,300 ft. above sea-level. Compare Imp. Gaz X.

Prince Shihab-uddin returns.

presents and rarities, the first mission ever sent from the Delhi Sultāns since the independence of Gujrāt.[1] This practically amounted to the recognition by Delhi of the independence of Gujrāt. Being ejected and defeated by his father the prince made way for Delhi. But hearing of his father's death (2nd Safar 917) May 1, 1511,[2] the prince abandoned the idea of coming to Delhi and refused to cede Chanderi.[3] Instead of going to Sultān Sikandar. he marched on Māndū to contest the throne with his brother (nominated heir-apparent by Sultān Nāṣeruddīn) who now ascended the throne with the title of Sultān Maḥmūd II. Prince Shihābuddīn was however defeated by his brother Maḥmūd and died in exile.[4]

Contest for the Malwa throne.

Sultān Maḥmūd II was soon after expelled from Māndū in 917/1510 by his second brother, prince Ṣāhab Khān who ascended the throne under the title of Sultān Muḥammad.[5] Sultān Maḥmūd II came over to Chanderi from Ujjain and requested Bihjat

(1) Ṭab. Akb. III, p.171-2, Ferishta II, Lucknow p,264.

(2) Sultān Maḥmūd II's enthronement took place on 3rd Ṣafar 917/May 2, 1511. It can be presumed that Nāseruddīn Mālvi died on the Ist or the 2nd of Safar 917. Cf. Ṭab. Vol. III, 377

(3) In Ṭab. I, p.330, the Prince returned 'due to some difficulty intervening' refers to the death of Sultān Nāṣeruddīn Mālvi, his father.

(4) Ṭab. Akb. A.S.B. III, p.380, Ferishta Lucknow II,

(5) Tabaqāt III, P.382; the title is given as Sultān Maḥmūd instead of Sultān Muḥammad erroneously.

Khān its governor to help him. He replied, "I am loyal to that person who holds Māndū." Puzzled with this curt reply, he sent proposals to Sultān Sikandar Lodī from Bihishtpūr and himself came over to Ranthambhor.[1] Sultān Sikandar promised him help on condition of his keeping Chanderı as the price of assistance. The Sultān returned to Dholpūr and busied himself in constructions so that the whole distance from Āgrā to Dholpūr should be studded with mosques, palaces and buildings.

Sikandar's assistance sought.

Perhaps it was during this occasion that he constructed a Bāradari pavilion at Sikandra which still exists. The exiled king however, had no occasion to require help for, as soon as Medini Rāy came to his assistance with the Rājpūt contingent. Maḥmūd marched on Māndū and occupied it after a bloody contest, on the 16th of Shawwāl 917, Jan. 16, 1512. Ṣāhab Kh̲ān (Muḥd. Shāh) fled to Gujrāt and after a fruitless attempt to regain the throne with the assistance of the Gujrāti army, he fled to Gāwilgaṛh[2] in the Deccan territory.

About this time 'Ali Kh̲ān and Abā Bakr Kh̲ān, who were the relatives of Maḥammad Kh̲ān governor of Nagor[3] (Nagaur) in Mālwa territories,

(1) Ṭab. Akb. III, p.383.

(2) Gāwil in Persian histories is the famous Gāwilgaṛh fort in the Sātpūras in Amrāoti distt. Berār in 21.22 N & 77.23 E. C.P. Distt. Gaz.

(3) Nāgor is placed by Abūl Fazl (cf.Aīn. Jarrett pp. 281-82) in the Māṛwār Sarkār. It is situated on the Jodhpūr Bikaner Rly. 99 miles to the west of the Jodhpūr town (in the former Jodhpūr State).

plotted to kill the latter and seize Nāgor. He frustrated their attempt timely and defeated them. They fled and sought refuge with Sultān Sikandar. Apprehending that their cause might be espoused by Sultān Sikandar, he courted the good-will of the Sultān bv sending gifts and presents and consenting to read the 'Khuṭba' and coin money in the Sultān's name. Nothing was more welcome to a conqueror than a bloodless victory and Nāgor was peacefully annexed by the Sultān.[1] The Sultān returned to Āgrā from Dholūpr to spend his time in a well deserved repose, rest and enjoyment.

Peaceful annexation of Nagor.

Some time after, the Sultān marched towards Dholpūr and ordered Miān Sulaimān, son of Khān Khānān Farmali to proceed towards Untgaṛh in the jurisdiction of Sui Sopar,[2] to help the Neo-Muslim Ḥusain Khān whose real name was Rāi Dūngar. Ḥusain Khān seems to have been a Jāgīrdār of the Sultān ejected by the Rājpūts, his former brethren in faith. Miān Sulaimān excusing himself by saying that he was reluctant to leave the Sultān's company, was dismissed and given the choice to carry with him whatever he could till day-break. The rest of his property was destroyed. He was however given the

Husain Khan the New Muslim helped in Untgarh.

(1) Ṭab. Akb. Vol. I, p.331, Makhzan M.U. Ms. pp.105-6.

(2) Abul Faẓl (Aīn, Jarrett, II p.275) places Sui Sopar in Ranthambhor Sarkār.

pargana of Indri[1] for his maintenance. The Sultān proceeded to Bāri from which he dismissed Mubārak Khān and gave it to Miān Mākhan.

Sultān Maḥmūd who had regained the throne of Mālwa with the assistance of Medini Rāy, became a tool in the hands of the latter. Medini Rāy assumed the position of the "Mayor of the Palace." In 918[2]/1512 Bihjat Khān, governor of Chanderi and a relation of Sultān Maḥmūd, apprehending the helplessness of the Sultān and the ascendancy of Medini Rāy and his Rājpūt soldiers in Mālwa, rebelled and was joined by Sikandar Khān, governor of Siwās and Hindia and Manṣūr Khān. Sikandar Khān was defeated by Medini Rāy but Bihjat Khān rejected the propsals of the Sultān for a reconciliation sent for prince Ṣāhab Khān from Gāwilgaṛh in the Deccan and dispatched an appeal to Sultān Sikandar Lodī through Muḥāfiẓ Khān, the eunuch and an old opponent of Sultān Maḥmūd in these words, 'The infidel Rājpūts have obtained ascendancy over the Musalmāns and Medini Rāy who is the chief of that tribe has become the real master and has executed many old servants of the state and others have fled to different places. Although the Sultān is ashamed of the high handedness of the Rājpūts and the elevation of Medini Rāy, he has so surrendered himself that he does

Appeal of Bihiat Khan for acknowledging the Sultan's overlordship.

(1) Indri is a decadent village in Karnāl distt., owned till 1947 almost entirely by the Nawāb of Kanjpūra, Punjab distt. Gaz. Karnāl; Āīn II Jarr,/.291.

(2) Ṭab. Vol. III, p.388.

not trust us .... The Muslim Law has ceased to remain operative here. Mosques and Madrasahs have been turned into temples. The time is not far when Rāi Rāyān, the son of Medini Rāy, will depose the Sultān and ascend the throne. If you send an army to place prince Ṣāhab Ḵẖān on the throne, I will read the 'Ḵẖuṭba' and issue coins in your name."[1] The moment was an opportune one. In Muḥarram 919, March 1513, Muẕaffar Shāh of Gujrāt had invaded Dhār and was on his way to Māndū.[2] When 'the sky began to clear' by the voluntary retirement of Muẕaffar Gujrāti, Sultān Maḥmūd turned towards Chanderi[3] only to learn that Prince Ṣāhab Ḵẖān had already arrived at Chanderi via Gondwāna[4] and had been placed on the throne, that Sa'id Ḵẖān Lodī and 'Imādul Mulk, who were coming with the Delhi army to the assistance of the Prince had encamped at a distance of 10 miles from Chanderi. Maḥmūd not daring an encounter with the Lodī army, retreated to Bhilsa.[5]

Lodi army encamps near Chanderi.

Taking this as a victory against Maḥmūd Ḵẖalji, Bihjat Ḵẖān retracted his promise and refused to read the 'Khutba or issue 'Sikka' in the Sultān Sikandar's name. The Delhi army

Retreat of the Sultan's army.

(1) Ferishta Vol. II Lucknow p.264.

(2) Ṭab. Akb. Vol. III, p.388-9.

(3) Ibid, p.398.

(4) In Zilhaj 918, Ṭab. Akb. III 389.

(5) Ferishta Lucknow II, 264. Bhilsa (Bhelsa) head quarters of Bhilsa distt, in Gwalior state, C.I. 23.31.N, 77.49 E. on the Midland section of the G.I.P. Rly. Imp. Gaz. Vol. VIII.

retreated 28 miles from their Chanderi camp and finally retired to Delhi at the orders of the Sultan[1], 919 H/1513 A.D., because he did not think it prudent to risk a battle with 40 thousand Rājpūt soldiers[2] in the army of Sultān Maḥmūd Khalji. After the retirement of the Delhi army, Bihjat Khān was defeated by Maḥmūd Khalji's Rājpūt contingent at Ẓafarābād.[3] Bihjat Khān and Prince Ṣāhab Khān (Maḥammad Shah) both became reconciled with Sultān Maḥmūd II who seht for them gifts and cash and appointed Prince Ṣāhab Khān in the viceroyalty of Raisin and Bhilsa. On the false report that Bihjat Khān was trying to imprison him, the Prince fled to the protection of Sultān Sikandar on the29th Ramaẓān 919/November 18, 1513, and joined his army after crossing the frontier. Bihjat Khān submitted to Maḥmūd Mālvi when the latter marched on Chanderi.[4] Mean while Maḥmūd Mālvi surrendered himself so completely into the hands of Medini Rāy and his Rājpūt soldiers that "all offices of the Mālwa government even the job of a gate-keeper or a camel driver was given by Medini Rāy to his own men, and not more than 22 Musalmāns remained in the personal service of the Sultān. The Rājpūts took possession of the Muslim women of Sayyid descent and converted them into their con-

Mahmud a puppet in Medini Ray's hands.

(1) Ferishta Lucknow p.265; Ṭab. Akb. Vol. III. A.S.B. p.391.
(2) Ferishta p.265.
(3) Ferishta Lucknow II, p.265.
(4) Ṭab. Akb. A.S.B. Vol. III, p.393.

cubines."[1] Maḥmūd K̲h̲alji tried to free himself from the clutches of Medini Rāy by trying to murder him treacherously. The attempt failed though Medini Rāy was wounded. He regained his ascendancy in the court. Maḥmūd K̲h̲alji in utter helplessness fled one night in 920[2]/1514 to Muzaffar Shāh of Gujrāt and there was chaos and anarchy in Mālwa. It was an opportunity for Sultān Sikandar. He despatched Sa'īd K̲h̲ān son of Mubārak K̲h̲ān Lodi, Shaik̲h̲ Jamāl son of Uṣmān, Rāja Jigar Sen, the Kachhwāha Rājpūt and K̲h̲iẓr K̲h̲ān with an army for the conquest of Chanderi. This 'grande armee' conquered Chanderi and placed Prince Sāhab K̲h̲ān, hitherto the protege of Sūltān Sikandar, in the government of Chanderi after displacing Bihjat K̲h̲ān who had treacherously refused to read the 'K̲h̲utba' and issue 'Sikka in the name of Sultān Sikandar. Prince Ṣāhab K̲h̲ān was virtually a puppet, for the Sultān appointed his own officers to supervise the administration and prince Ṣāhab K̲h̲ān was interned within the bounds of the city,[3] In utter helplessness Bihjat Khān too came to join the Sultān.

Mahmud's flight from Malwa and anarchy.

Annexation of Chanderi.

The anarchy in Mālwa following Maḥmūd II's flight to Gujrāt in 920, 1514, and the ascendancy of Medini Rāy gave Sultān Sikandar an occasion for fresh conquest at the expense of Mālwa. With a

(1) Tab Akb III, p.393.

(2) Ibid p.396.

(3) Cf. Ṭab. Akb. I, p.332.

view to preventing Ranthambhor falling in Rājpūt hands, 'Ali K̲h̲ān of Nāgor—the governor of Sui Sopar—induced Prince Daulat K̲h̲ān its governor, to cede Ranthambhor. When 'Ali K̲h̲ān wrote to the Sultān to this effect, the Sultān marched towards Ranthambhor 923/1517 by slow stages, halting, hunting and sight-seeing in the vicinity of Bayāna for four months. The Sultān having won over the Prince and his mother, who was the actual ruler of Ranthambhor, by high promises, the prince came to pay respects to him and was given by the Sultān a robe of honour horses and elehphants. On the return of the Prince, 'Ali K̲h̲ān induced him not to cede Ranthambhor. The Prince offered excuses and made delays, and actually came to oppose the Sultān.[1] Sikandar marched against 'Ali K̲h̲ān dispossessed him of Sui Sopar,[2] and gave it to his brother Abā Bakr K̲h̲ān[3] and 'due to the kindness of disposition he did not show any more severity to 'Ali K̲h̲ān.'[4]

March and annexation of Sui Sopar, 923/1517.

Ranthambhor, however, remained unconquered,[5] but its governor appears to have accepted Sultān

(1) Badauni I, p.332 A.S.B. (Cf. Ferishta Luck. I, 86)

(2) See Foot note No 2, p.101.

(3) Ṭab. Akb. I, A.S.B. 333.

(4) I accept the date 922/1516 because the event occurred at least a year before the death of Sultān Siknadar and before Maḥmūd Mālvi's reconquest of Māndū in 923 H. *vide* Ferishta Vol. II Lucknow p.2.67

(5) Badauni I, A.S.B. 322.

Sikandar's vassalage[1] Between 919 and 922 H. *i.e.* from the date of the flight of Ṣāhab K̲h̲ān to Sultān Sikandar and the conquest of SuiSopar, the Sultān had made some alterations in provincial governments. He dismissed Bhikhan K̲h̲ān, son of 'Ālam K̲h̲ān Lodi from the governorship of the Sarkār of Etāwah and gave it to his younger brother K̲h̲iẓr K̲h̲ān. He became suspicious of the fidelity of Ḣusain K̲h̲ān Farmali, governor of Sāran. He sent an army under Sārang K̲h̲ān with orders to imprison him and before it could reach him he fled to the kingdom of Bengal with a handful of followers. After the conquest of Sui Sopar, the Sultān came to Bayāna and restored order there. He next turned towards Thāngaṛh, and from Thāngaṛh to Rāpri which he took away from the sons of Mubārak K̲h̲ān (Nūḥāni) and gave it to Shaik̲hzāda Mākhan. He next went to Dholpūr and from Dholpūr came to Āgra. He summoned a large number of nobles from the frontier, might be for preparing a plan for a final conquest of Gwālior. But he fell ill of a throat disease[1] perhaps cancer, which he kept concealed and gave audience and rode as usual. It prevailed on him gradually so that "no morsel of food or drop of water could pass through his throat and his breathing channel became suffocated." He breathed his last on the 7th Ziqadh 923/Nov. 21, 1517. The chronogram

Administrative changes.

Death of Sikandar Nov. 21.1517.

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(1) *Vide* Tod's Annals, II p.238.

of his year of death is "Jīnnāt-ul Firdaus Nuzulā.,"[1] He reigned for 28 years 2 months and 20 days. Sikandar lies buried in his own garden[2] about a mile and a quarter from the tomb of Safdar Jung, close to the ancient stone bridge.[3]

(1) Makhzan p. 106. Refers to Surah XVIII (Kahf) Verse No. 107 of the Qurān.

ان الذین اٰمنوا و عملو الصّٰلحت کانت لهم جنّٰت الفردوس نُزُلاً

"As to those who believe and work righteous deeds, they have for their entertainment the gardens of Paradise." The Chronogram yields 923 H. which is equivalent to 1517 A. D.

(2) Makhzan M. U. Ms. p.137.

(3) Stephen Carr, Arch Monuments of Delhi: Āsāroos Sanādid p.46.

CHAPTER VII.

SIKANDAR LODI'S CHARACTER.

Private character.

"The virtues and excellences of this monarch" says Ni'matullah[1] were so many that these cannot be brought into the measure of writing or discussions." Sikandar Lodi is described as possessing extra-ordinary physical charm.[2] and virtues. He was endowed with a prodigious memory, was faultless in speech and action,[3] and did not allow the slightest transgression from the 'Sharia' except with regard to himself. He shaved his chin, on the excuse that the hair on it was broomy and for the preservation of health, he it is presumed, very secretly indulged in wine.[4] Probably rigorous routine duty prevented

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(1) Makhzan-i Afghāni M. U. Ms. P. 107

(2) The story of Shaikh Ḥasan's being captivated by his charm when he was a crown Prince has been mentioned by Yādgār and 'Abdullah.

(3) 'Abdullah Tārikh-i-Dāūdi Bānkipore Ms. p.77.

(4) Cf. 'Abdullah Tārikh-i-Dāūdi Bānkipore p. 68.

وشاید درآن وقت سلطان بقصد صحت مزاج
بر طریق مداوات وعلاج چیزے از اسباب عیش
و عشرت نیز بکار بردے *

his timely offering of the five daily prayers which he performed in one sitting* in the morning.[1] Like his father, he was intensely God-fearing and unostentations. He had no taste for ceremomies, donned but simple dress,[2] and never associated with people of low morals or character. His companions were men of letters. the religious and the virtuous. No profane things were tolerated by him and conversations were always held under the strictest discipline in his presence. He was a respecter of right utterances and tried to be religiously just in all his dealings.[3] He was kind, affectionate and forbearing in his relation with his brothers and kith and kin, and forgave their offences on occasions when they did not deserve a pardon.

'Abdul Ḥaq. Tāri<u>kh</u>-i-Haqqi Bānkipore Ms.

شاید درآن وقت خلوت بقصد صحت مزاج بر طریق

مداوات نقب ستر و اخفا رعایت طریق ادب و حیا

چیزے از اسباب عیش و عشرت نیز بکار بردے بر ینچه

که هیچکس بران مطلع نشدے *

(1) Yādgār p. 37 definitely says that he prayed in the morning. 'Abdullah is selfcontradictory to point the monarch as offering all the five prayers in congregation (Jama't), for, in the story of the conversation of the Sultān with Hāji 'Abdul Wahhāb (which 'Abdullah mentions) the king asks Shaikh Lādan Dānishmand as to the expiations of his sins committed by the omission of prayers, fasting, shaving the beard, drinking wine etc.

(2) 'Abdullah, Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi, Bānkipore p. 68.

(3) Makhzani Afghāni, N.U.Ms. p. 103.

*Makhzan 108 نماز خمس را درایک مجلس ادا میکرد

As a King.

As a king he was merciful, just and kind, intelligent, prodigiously charitable, indefatigably hard-working, bigotedly orthodox, a cherisher of his people, a patron of the learned and a connoisseur of literature and the fine arts.

Innumerable and sometimes incredible stories are extant regarding him including the one in which he is credited with the resurrecting of a dead body.[1]

Devotion to duty and regularity.

As one conscious of a great trust, he solely identified himself with the state and like the "Benevolent Despots" of 18th century Europe, he never spared himself or any body else in the devotion to duty or welfare of the people, and sometimes remained at work from morning till sleeping time.[2] Every task had its appointed time. He never deviated from routine or allowed any body to do so; even the musicians before him could not play beyond the prescribed airs and tunes.

His routine work began early in the morning after prayer and perusal of the Qurān and was

(1) Aḥmad Yādgār, Tārīkhi Sal Afg., Buhār Ms.

(2) Yādgār p.37 (Buhār) definitely says that he rose early in the morning. I do not believe 'Abdullah who says that he awoke the whole night and slept till midday because (1) it stands by itself without the support of any other historian. (2) It is incredible of a monarch conscious of great trust, knowing every detail of the kingdom in the tip of his fingers, to sleep till mid-day, a practice which even the most indolent monarch would abhor.

finished by evening and some times continued beyond.

Daily life. He was in the habit of giving audience daily and transacting all duties including the redress of wrongs. The nights he spent in giving private audience,[1] regulating state business, listening to musical entertainments or discourses of the learned who kept his company till midnight, thus alternating serious work with relaxation. He preferred to send orders to the governors and contemporary monarchs during the night. At midnight, a meal was served. Seventeen learned men who were the companions of the Sultān in his private apartment, sat by his side, the Sultān seating himself on a cot.[2] The Ulama were not allowed to take food in his presence, but when the Sultān had finished his meals, they carried away the victuals with them to their houses. Like Akbar the great he slept but little.

The Sultān transacted all state business big or small with his own hands, and kept all information at the tip of his fingers. "He was ever busy in rooting out troubles, transacting affairs of the state, and relieving the burdens of the people."[3] Such was his vigilance over every branch of administration that he used to send daily two farmans to the army on the march—

His vigilance and activity.

(1) 'Abdullah's statement that he listened to the petitions of the aggrieved at night seems to be impossible in the face of his busy programme.

(2) پلنگ

(3) Makhzan-i Afgāni M. U. p. 112
'Abdullah, Tārīkh-i Dāūdi, Bānkipore Ms. p.69-70.

one in the morning to march to this or that place, another in the evening to encamp at such and such a place. This practice was not deviated from even when the army was at a considerable distance.[1] So thorough was his knowledge of the topography of the places he never visited, so complete his knowledge of the state of his empire including those of household affairs of the individuals, that people believed that he possessed "Jin" (genii) The story that the Sultān possessed a sercret lamp like that of 'Alāuddīn of the Arabian Nights of which two genii were the guardians, received a wide currency. This is but a proof that the Sultān possessed a terribly efficient spy system. Army news, the happenings of the provinces and parganas reached him daily through post officials; and the carts and horses of the postal department were kept in constant readiness[2] at convenient distances.

It was his habit to examine the schedule of rates in the empire daily. Such was his minute care and argus-eyed vigilance that whenever, the slightest discrepancy occurred he at once set himself to investigate the cause thereof.[3]

He discarded the trappings and conventions of royalty and like his father allowed nobles to sit before him.

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(1) According to 'Abdullah that farmāns used to be sent daily even when the army was at a distance of 500 karohs (1,000 miles) is incredible esp. in those days of bad communication.

(2) Ṭabaqāt, Ferishta, Makhzan and Maāsīr.

(3) 'Abdullah, Tār. Dāūdi: Makhzani Afghāni, and Maāsīr-i Rahīmī.

Sultān Sikandar was punctitious in dispensing justice. Even Sujjān[1] Rāi who condemns his anti-Hindu legislations pays a tribute to his wisdom, sagacity and justice. As a monarch he was endowed with rare wisdom and sagacity and rarely gave way to the desires of the flesh. It was his daily habit to dispense justice and redress wrongs personally by giving public audience[2] daily. "His equity beheld the weak and the strong with the same eye." If any petitioner approached him while he was out riding, he tried to redress the grievance and console the petitioner. In dispensing justice, he was no respecter of persons or rank. Once it is said Mian Bhoa, the Prime Minister and Privy Councillor and Mīr 'Adl of the Sultān was trying a case from the provinces[3] in which a Sayyid was deprived of his "Wazīfa" (stipend) and "Imlāk" lands by the Jāgīrdār of the place. When the trial had continued for two months, the monarch on hearing it, announced one day that no body would be able to leave the court until the case had been decided. The Judges decided the case by midnight in favour of the complainant, the Sultān remaining all the while informed of the proceedings of the trial. The defendant was called by the Sultān to explain his conduct and made to confess his guilt three times in the court and was deprived of his Jāgīr.[4] The story of two brothers who accompanied

His Justice

(1) Kh̲ūlāsat-ut Tawārīkh̲, Ms.
(2) Mak̲h̲zan-i Afg̲h̲āni Ṭabaqāt, Ferishta.
(3) From near Bhattha (Rewa). 'Abdullah. T. D.
(4) 'Abdullah, Tār. Dāūdi, gives this story which is only one of the lot.

him in the Gwālior campaign has been mentioned by almost all historians to illustrate the Sultān's sagacity in complicated judicial cases. These two brothers had collected a huge booty including some rubies. One brother was anxious to return home, the other to stay behind and collect more riches. They divided the booty including the rubies. The younger brother who pepreferred to stay on, gave his share including one big ruby to the brother going home, to be handed over to his (the brother staying on's) wife. When the younger brother returned home after some time, he came to learn on enquiry that the ruby was not given. He questioned his elder brother who told him that his wife was lying and required some thrashing to bring it out. He did accordingly. The helpless woman to avoid further agony, promised to produce the ruby the next day. She straight-way went to the Sultān and lodged a complaint. The Sultān asked her why she had not gone to Mian Bhoa. She replied that she had done so without any effect. The Sultān summoned both the brothers. The elder brother denied the charge of non-delivery of the ruby, and produced witnesses by catching hold of some ruffians from a gambling den, by donning them with respectable dresses and paying them handsomely for the job. The Sultān took each of the witnesses singly, and gave them a piece of wax to produce a likeness of the ruby. The two witnesses failed miserably, their dimensions ludicrously differed from each other; the two brothers made the exact size of it, while the woman did not make

any and wept all the while, because, she was unable to produce the likeness of a thing, she had not seen. The Sultān by threatening the two paid witnesses with death, exacted a confession (from them) that they were tutored and paid witnesses. The covetous brother was taken to task and he produced the ruby in question.[1]

Disregard for riches and charity.

Like Bābar, Sikandar hated the acquisition of riches and on many occasions, returned hidden treasures to their discoverers without touching a single penny out of them.[2] In charity and generosity, he would have excelled Muḥammad Tug͟hlaq if he had that amount of wealth at his disposal. Like Abū Bakr the first Caliph of Islām,[3] he distributed all money derived from Zakāt[4] to the poor, the learned and the recluse.

Besides daily distributing cooked and uncooked food in the different quarters of the metropolis, he bestowed substantial cash, on festive occasions[5] and released prisoners taken to custody for non-

(1) Niẓāmuddīn Tabaqat I p. 338-39.

(2) Rizqullah Mushtāqi (Elliot Wāqiat-i Mushtāqi) contrasts the covetous spirit of the rulers of his time who would take all and yet want more.

(3) Abū Bakr did not require a guard for the public treasury, because daily incomes were distributed daily. At his death only one coin was found in the 'Baiṭul Māl' and that too in a corner undiscovered. *vide* Muir, Caliphate, p. 79.

(4) Explained in ch. XI. Section D.

(5) The 10th of Muḥarram; the date of the Prophet's birth and decease and celebration of victories.

payment of debt. Allowances and stipends were fixed for the needy, twice each year, enough to last for 6 months, in accordance to the needs and position of the recipients, on the recommendation of the governors of the districts; and elocutioners, preachers and sweepers of the mosques were given stipends from the state and clothing for the winter.[1] He was in the habit of changing suits each week including the cot and beddings which were sold and the amount given as dowry to the daughters of widows. In this way, says, Yādgār[2] about one thousand girls were married annually. In charity and beneficence, the nobles imitated the Sultān who used to say, "when one lays a good foundation, no loss can accrue to it." He was kind to his employees whom he selected after careful enquiry as to their ancestry and seldom deprived a man of his post.

"He (Sikandar) was bigoted to such a degree," says Ni'matullah[3] "that he went to extremes in this matter. "The story of Crown-Prince Sikandar asking the opinion of Maulāna 'Abdullah Ajodhani[4] regarding the prohibition of bathing of the Hindus at Thāneswar is well known. The great canonist gave the reply that it was illegal to stop an old practice. The Prince enraged beyond control, raised his sword upon him but when he retorted that he had no fear

Treatment of the Hindus.

(1) Ṭab, Makhzan, Tār. Dāūdi.

(2) Buhār Ms. p. 37.

(3) Makhzan p. 108; Tab. Akb. I, p. 335.

(4) This name has been given by 'Abdullah alone.

in telling what was in the law books, the Prince was silenced.[1] He was so partial to Islām, that he destroyed Hindu temples and obliterated all traces of them.[2] Whenever possible, he destroyed Hindu temples including those of Muttra and erected in their places, mosques, madrasas, caravanserais and he is reported to have given the ikons of the temple of Nagarkot to butchers for weighing meat.[3] The open practice of the Hindu religion was proscribed[4] in the realm, and (police) officers were posted in bathing ghāts, to prevent bathing and shaving of beards and chin by barbers. An interesting story is told[5] of a Hindu pilgrim at Muttra who bribed some Musalmāns to help him perform the bath. The Musalmāns instructed him to feign lunacy whereupon, he was stripped of his clothes tied with ropes, flogged and pushed into the stream, ostensibly for cooling his head. According to Sujjān Rāi (but corroborated by no other historian), the Hindus were required to tie a blue piece to their shoulder clothes

(1) Ṭab. Akb. 336; there is no truth in Sūjjān Rāi's statement, that he sought the opinion of the 'ulama for destroying the temples at Thāneswar.

(2) 'Abdullah, Tār. Dāūdi, Bānkipore p.72.

(3) Yādgār rightly mentions about the idols of Nagarkot only. It is inconceivable to think of the images of all temples being given to the butchers as is asserted by Niẕāmudddīn and others when the Muslim rulers knew to use them in buildings.

(4) Makẖzan, M. U. Ms. p. 108.

(5) Cf. Mujmal-i Hindi, Ḥabībganj Ms; Beale Miftāhut-Tawārīkẖ.

'to pay homage to Islām.[1] Probably he was too much infatuated by similar laws of Caliph Umar I, who in his covenant with the 'zimmīs' or the people of the Book had prohibited them from wearing the 'Kalānsuya' (the tall cap), the turban or shoes, or ride like the Muslims, and enjoined them to wear a distinct shoulder clothing—the 'G̱ẖiyār' or yellow patch on their dress and tie the 'zunnār' or girdle round their waist as a token of bondage.[2] The Hindus who wore a turban had to pay a higher rate of Jizya.[3]

A story is told[4] of a Brahman of Kather (Rohilkhand) named Bodhan, a famous Kabir-

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(1) K̲h̲ulāsat; repeated parrot-like by G̱ẖulām Ḥusain in his Siyar-ul Mutak̲h̲erīn

مقرر کرده بودند که هنودان اندکے پارچه
نیله برجامه خود متصل کتف پیوند کنند *

(2) Caliphate Muir p. 137; Tritton Caliphate and their non-Muslim subjects p. 7.

(3) Sujjān Rāi

هر کس که از کفار دستار می بست جزیه
بقرار اعلیٰ ازاو می گرفت *

There seems to be much exaggeration in Sujjān Rāi's statements, that books on Hindu scriptures were consigned to the flames. That the Hindus were reduced to such a plight that they procured the daily necessities of life with difficulty. In the first place no Muslim historian has mentioned them, in which matter they are always frank, and secondly it is difficult to believe literally an historian writing his book or copying one some 200 years after the incidents.

(4) Makhzan, M. U. Ms. p. 107.

Panthī, free-thinker,[1] which illustrates the Sultān's zeal for orthodoxy. Bodhan (or Lodhan as in some texts) was accused of declaring in the presence of some Musalmāns that both Hinduism and Islām are true religions. He was sent to the Sultān by A'ẓam Humāyūn Lodi,[2] the governor of the spot, to the Sultān then at Sambhal. He staged a great legal discussion by appointing an extra-ordinary Court after summoning the learned in canon law from all parts of his kingdom. After much discussion, it was decided that the Brahman be asked to accept Islām and on his refusal he was executed.

Sikandar was a mighty ruler and sensible legislator. He was the author of a number of social, economic and administrative legislations.[3] He forbade at Bahraich the annual procession held in the

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(1) According to Sir William Jones, a disciple of Kabīr who was a contemporary of the Sultān cf. Āin Jarr. II p. 171. Kabīr, a weaver by birth, a disciple of Ramanand and possibly also of the mystic Mīr Taqi of Mānikpūr, was born in 1398 A. D. and died in 1518 A.D. Two tombs built by his Hindu and Muslim disciples exist side by side at Maghar. *Vide* "Kabīr Sāheb" by Manohar lal Zutshi, published by Hindūstāni Academy, Allahabād and "Kabīr Janam Sākhi," by Muhd. Khalīl Ansāri. The story of Sultān Sikandar Lodi trying unsuccessfully to kill him by drowning, by fire or trampling under elephant's feet is baseless and never mentioned by any Persian chronicler Hindu or Muslim.

(2) See genealogical table. No I at the end.

(3) For his judicial and administrative reforms see Chapter XI.

Sikandar as a Legislator.

month of Jeth (May-June) of the dagger of Sālār Mus'ūd Ghāzi, perhaps on account of its degeneration into foolish relic worship.[1] He prohibited the visiting of women to the shrines of saints, stopped the displaying of 'Tāziyas' in the month of Muḥarram and the worship of 'Sitala' the goddess of small-pox.[2] He made it a law that jagirdārs should enjoy all revenue from their fiefs with the exception of those from Imlāk and Wazāif lands.

He made it a rule, ostensibly to vindicate the position of the ruler, that whenever a 'farmān' was to be addressesd to a noble, the addressee

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(1) Processions are also held in almost a to wns of U.P. and Bihār but the greatest is that held in Bahraich (U.P). The head of the Martyr-saint is represented on a pole and is commonly called as the nuptial of Ghāzi Miān, because he was in nuptial clothes at the time of his execution. The procession had in many town degenerated into bacchanalian festival. *Vide* Elliot, Memoirs of the Races of N.W.P. p.251 ff; Bengal Dist. Gaz. Patna Dist. Salār M'ali, the mother of Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzi is supposed to be the sister of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazni, a claim which has not sufficiently been substantiated. His father, Sālār Rajab, accompanied the army of Maḥmūd of Ghazni into India. Sālār Mas'ūd who was born at Ajmer, came to Bahraich, after the death of his father and took shelter under a tree near Sūraj-Kund temple in Bahraich, and was done to death when he was only 19 years old, in 429 H. by Rāja Shahar Deo. He is styled as 'the king of Martyrs'
cf. Hālāti Syad Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzi, M.U. Ms. written in Jahāngīr's time by 'Abdur Raḥmān Chishti Alvi; Mujmil-i Hindi, Mir Muhsin; Habibganj Ms; Beale, Miftāhut Tawārikh.

(2) Wāqiāt-i Mushtāq-i, Elliot Vol. IV.

had to advance 2/3 kos and receive the messenger by constructing a platform on which was to stand the bearer of the 'farmān' while the addressee was to remain on his legs below, respectfully seize the 'farmān' with both hands and press it on his head and lips. The 'farmān' was read out to him if it was public, read in the mosques if so ordered, or read by him privately if it concerned him alone.

As a Soldier and Sportsman. Like his father Bahlul, he was very fond of hunting and out-door exercises. 'Chaugān' (polo) was his most favourite game which he played with the nobles. He was brave and chivalrous in war, unusually merciful to a fallen foe and averse to shedding of blood.[1] Unlike his father, he did not resort to treachery or naively break his word, to gain an advantage over his enemy. He had few moments of rest in his reign more than half of which he spent on the camping ground. He took active part in almost all the campaigns and never left one unfinished. Besides crushing the revolt of his brother and other relatives and their partisans, he had effected the final subjugation of the Sharqi kingdom, captured Dholpūr, Narwar, and a considerable part of Central India, including Gwālior, whose Rāja was reduced to a position of vassalage. He had waged war against Kashmīr and kept friendly terms with Multān. He had stretched his kingdom by conquest and annexation to reach the frontiers

(1) Cf. his mild remonstrance to a saint on the eve of the battle of Kanauj against Bārbak Shāh *vide* Ṭab. Akb. I. p. 335.

of the Hindu-kush, Kashmīr and Multān in the west, the kingdom of Bengal in the East, the foot of Himālayas in the North and Mālwa and Rājpūtāna in the South.

Sikandar is even more conspicuous in the cultivation of the arts of peace than in those of war. Bryce's[1] remarks on Frederick, the Great that "the military talents by which Europe knows of him are a less worthy title to the admiration of posterity than the ardour he showed for the good of his administration and for the prosperity and happiness of his people," holds good equally of Sikandar. Sikandar held learned men in great respect and never felt himself happier as in their company. He had himself a taste for literature and poetry and wrote excellent poems under the pen-name 'Gulrukh.'[2] He set apart the presents sent by friendly rulers or nobles for distribution among the learned.[3] One of the chief poets of his time was a Brahman named Dūngar. His patronage attracted scholars from Arabia, Persia, Trans-Oxiana to the city of Agrā.[4] After a great deal of exchange of letters of invitation he succeeded in inviting Shaikh Jamāluddīn[5]

Patronage of letters.

(1) Holy Roman empire.

(2) *i.e.*, Rose-cheeked, some of his couplets are quoted by Badāūni I, 323 sec p. 135, Ni'matullah Makhzan p. 114 M.U.Ms.

(3) 'Abdullah.

(4) 'Abdullah; Ni'matullah, Makhzan, M.U.Ms. p. 107 Badāūni I, 323.

(5) Maulānā Jamāli, a prolific writer of prose and poetry, a great scholar and Sūfī, was a disciple of Shaikh Samāuddīn Kamboh. His real name was Jalāl Khān.

(a disciple of Shaikh Samāuddīn Kamboh)[6] who had travelled far and wide in Islamic countries to live in his court. Shaikh Jamāluddīn remained, till the death of the Sultān, his constant companion and repaid the Sultān's friendship by writing some couplets in his memory.[7] Besides the 17 scholars and legists who were in his company, like Maulānā Ṣadruddīn of Kanauj, Maulānā 'Abdul Rahmān of Sikri, his court was graced by scholars

He adopted the pen-name of Jalāli but later changed it to Jamāli at the suggestion of his spiritual guide. He travelled to Makkah and Madina and the Muslim east, and visited Maulānā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmi and Maulānā Jalāluddīn Dawwāni. On return to India, he became attached to the courts of Sikandar Lodi, Bābar and Humāyūn successively. He accompained Humāyūn in his Gujrāt campaign and died in Gujrāt in Zilqadh, 941/Feb. 1535, and lies buried near the tomb of Khwāja Bakhtiyār, in Rājonki Bāin, in Delhi. He is the author of Siyar-ul 'Arifīn, a biography of Sufī saints and a 'diwān' containing 8/9 thousand verses. *Vide* 'Abdul Ḥaq Haqqi Akhbārul Akhiyār, p. 217-8; Sayyid-ul Siyar, M.U.Ms. by Ghulām Aḥmad Mashūd, Rāmpūri, art 829; Asār-oos-Sanādīd, Syad Aḥmad Khān, p. 47; Badāūni I, 325.

(6) Maulānā Samāuddīn Kamboh, a mystic of the Chishtia Order, a disciple of Shāikh Kabīr and a grandson of Makhdūm Jahāniyān Sayyid Jalālūddin Bukhāri, came to Hindustān from Multān and reached Delhi after solitary ramblings in Ranthambor and Bayānah died in Delhi in mature old age on 17 Jamadi I 901/January 23, 1496. His tomb and also those of the members of his family lie above Hauz-i-Shamsi, Delhi. *Vide* Akhbārul Akhiyār, Maulāna 'Abdul Ḥaq, p. 202-4, Syad-ul Siyar Gulām Ahmad Mashud, Rāmpūri, M.U.Ms, art 814.

(7) Quoted by Niẓamuddīn Tab. I 340.

like 'Abdullah Talambi of Delhi, and 'Azizullah Talambi of Sambhal. Shaikh 'Abdullah's learned philosophical discourses were attended by the king personally. Others who made a name for authorship were Shaikh Allahdiya of Jaunpūr and his son Shaikh Bahkāri.[1] When an allowance had once been fixed by the state, whether in cash or kind no alteration was made whether it was in season or out of it. 'Abdullah[2] narrates the story of Shaikh 'Abdul Ghani of Jaunpūr who was served with 'sherbat,' cold-drink once when he came to visit the court in summer. When the visit was repeated in winter, the same beverage was given, and no alteration could be made because it had been fixed by the Sultān. He assembled fine calligraphists who were kept busy copying manuscripts, which were, some times, brought from as far as Bukhāra. It was during his reign, that the Hindus had begun to systematically study the Persian language.[3] By his orders the "Mahā Vaidyak" a treatise on medicine, was translated into Persian and renamed "Tibb-i-Sikandari," which remained the standard book on medicine in India for years to come.[4]

(1) Badāuni, I, 323-4.

(2) Tār. Dāūdi, Bānkipore p. 77.

(3) Sujjān Rāi, Khulāsat Ms.

(4) Badāūni I, 324. The real name of the book is M'adan-i-Shifā-i-Sikandari, translated by orders of Sultān Sikandar Lodi in 918/1522 by "Bhoa Khān s/o Hakīm Khawās Khān, a courtier of Sultān Sikandar". Bhoa Khān s/o Khawās Khān is mentioned in the list of Sultān Sikandar's nobles (Tab. Akb. I, 315) and is the same as Miān Bhoa, the

Sikandar's patronage of music and architecture and other fine arts.

Sikandar had a taste for classical music and other fine arts. That an inconoclast and orthodox ruler like him should take an interest in music and appreciate it, go to prove the extent to which this art was patronised by the Muslim rulers of India. He assembled all noted artists, whether vocalists or instrument artists, and evaded the letter of the Law, by making them sing or play on their instruments in the camps of Mīr Sayyid Rūḥullah and Sayyid Ibn-i Rasūl. which were close to his and listening to the music.[1] The musical assembly began when three hours of the night had elapsed. The Sultān had purchased four slave boys, of whom one* played on the "chang" (harp), the second on "Qānūn," the third on "tambūra" (lute) and the fourth on "bīn" (Vīna). There were ten "shahnāi"[2] players, but none could play beyond the prescribed airs, which were liked by the Sultān,

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Wazīr of Sultān Sikandar (Cf. 'Abdullah, Tār. Dāūdi Bānkipore, 80): The translator says in the preface that the Sultān ordered him to translate a book from the Hindustāni language since the Unāni medicine did not suit Indian temperament and climatic conditions and the names of the Unāni medicines are given in the Persian language........... and are very scarce. The names of celebrated physicians from whom the system was borrowed are enumerated and the book was so named because it is a collection from all books.

(1) Tār Dāūdi, Bānkipore Ms. 76.

(2) Or Surnai, reed-pipe, in Persian.

**The dulcimer*. an instrument of 50/60 strings resting on two bridges and played by both hands without *plectrum* or bow.

namelly "Māligauṛa,"[1] "Kalyān,"[2] "Kānṛa,"[3] and "Ḥusaini Kānṛa."[4]

Sikandar was both a builder and a destroyer. He destroyed temples and built mosques, colleges, sarais, and bāzārs. In his work of destruction which was as thorough as that of Sultān Maḥmud of Ghazni, no regard was paid to any community. To be his enemy was the worst disqualification. He thoroughly uprooted the forest-garden of Dholpūr which cast shade for 14 miles (7 kos). In Gwalior, Dholpūr, Kantat and Rewa (Bughel-khand) he carried the work of devastation to his full satisfaction. He plundered the fair city of Jaunpūr the seat of the Sharqi dynasty, which "on account of the density of its population was like the garden of Eden."[5] It is the common belief in Jaunpūr[6] that he lodged gun-powder in the walls of mosques including the 'Jami' to blow them up and desisted only when the 'ulama' remonstrated

(1) Māligaura is a 'sampūran' *i.e.* full "rāg" of the present Mārwa Ṭhāt.

(2) Aiman or Shuddh Kalyān.

(3) Renamed by Akbar as "Darbāri" (present Asāwari Ṭhāt).

(4) "Husaini" Kānra as the name proves, is a "rāg" of the present "Kāfi That," supposed to be invented by Ḥusain Shāh of Jaunpūr. *Vide* "Ma'rifūl Naghmāt" by Rājā Nawāb 'Ali, Vol. I. Yādgār and Mullah Mushtāqi give a different list of the four airs.

(5) Khairuddin Allahabādi, Jaunpūr-nāma, M. U. Ms. p. 14.

(6) *Vide* U.P. Distt. Gaz. Vol. on Jaunpūr.

that they would be no party to condone the destruction of the 'houses of God.'[1]

He beautified one city of Āgra by the construction of buildings after the removal of the capital from Delhi. The tomb of Buhlul Lodi at Delhi and a Bāradari at Agra constructed by him still exist.

Historians are never tired or wanting in words in praising the golden age of his reign. The statement of Tārīkhi Dāūdi that the 'entire creation enjoyed peace, security and prosperity in the cradle of his reign"[2] is not without significance. After years of insecurity of life and property, from the days of Muḥammad Tughlaq, Northern India got a stable government similar to that in England at the accession of the Tudor monarchs after the devastating wars of the Roses. The nobles were made law-abiding and their turbulance and rapacity had been curtailed by the strong hand of Sikandar, so that "the rich and the poor were placed on equal footing."[3]

General peace and prosper ty.

(1) He did not destroy the tomb of the Sharqi kings, which lie in the enclosure attached to the Jum'a Mosque and are in a fair state of preservation. The mosques including the Jami' mosque, Lāl Darwāza mosque and the Aṭāla mosque were repaired by Sher Shah and subsequently by the Mughul Subahdārs, are still being repaired by charitable men and public subscriptions. The Lāl Darwāza mosque is fast going to decay on account of the severe damage done to it by the earthquake of 1934 and has not been repaired since.

(2) 'Abdullah, T. D. p. 80.

(3) Ṭab. I. 335.

The administration was firm, the roads and highways became secure from robbers, facilitating travel and movement of goods. The prices of commodities were ludicrously cheap, and hence a man of small means could live in comfort. "A new sort of life came into existence, and people high or low were polite and self-respecting."

But we cannot shut our eyes to the grim facts that cheapness was caused by the dearth of bullion and the absence of movement of goods or exchange of commodities, for, no part of the kingdom touched the sea, and secondly, corruption in revenue department still persisted as is evidenced by the story of a conversation between Miān Bhoa and the Sultān as to how to check corruption.[1]

Sikandar Lodi can be compared with great rulers of mankind. He was not an idealist and a dreamer like Akbar but a practical ruler. He tried to pose himself as the servant of the ruled and "it was his special desire to gain the good will and affection of the body of his people."[2] He was so conscious of the trust imposed on him that few rulers have discharged it with as scrupulous a regard as he. He had enlarged his empire, revived the prestige of the Sultanate so badly shattered after Tīmūr's invasion. He had given it an orderly and methodical administration. The empire in his reign reaches the highest territorial extent since the age of Fīrūz Tughlaq. He held Khushāb, Chenāb and Bhera and the Khokhar country upto

(1) Ṭab. I, 340-1.

(2) 'Abdullah T. D.

the confines of Kashmīr whose ruler was a grateful ally; and the western frontier touched the independent kingdoms of the Multān and Sindh; the east included Tirhoot and the whole of the Central and western Bihār now included under the districts of Champāran Sāran, Muzaffarpūr and Darbhanga, north of the Ganges and Shahābād Patna and perhaps a portion of Monghyr and Gaya, south of the Ganges. The north stretched upto the foot of the Himālayas including the Kāngra Valley, but excluding Nepāl. The south touched the kingdom of Mewār, and the Vindyas a little towards the east including the districts of Jalāun, Jhānsi, Hamīrpūr, and Banda with a number of allied and vassal states in Bundelkhand and Central India. The rulers of Dholpūr and Gwālior were his feudatories. He had conquered a considerable portion of Central India from the kingdom of Mālwa which had fallen in evil days, including Chanderi, Ranthambhor, Narwar, and Sui-soper, and the whole of Karauli which even then formed a separate state.

The extent of his empire.

He had made an experiment in Islamic socialism by making all the poor and needy the recipients of state-aid, a practice abandoned by Islām since the days of the Umayyad rulers.

As a legislator he was a model both for Sher Shāh and Akb arin coinage reform, land-settlement, revenue[1] judicial and civil administration. He

(1) Cf. Thomas, Revenue Resources of the Moghul Empire, p. 3.

well-earned the title of the Just, a title by which he is designated by the Mediaeval historians.[1]

Orthodoxy and intolerance were his only faults, but it is doubtful if his anti-Hindu laws were rigorously enforced outside of Muttra. Intolerance was the feature of the age, and neither has the world taken a straight road to religious toleration even in the twentieth century.

(1) Ferishta Ms.

CHAPTER VIII.
SULTĀN IBRĀHĪM LODI.

Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's enthronement.

The Paṭhān nobles with their peculiar sense of equality and their spirit of intolerance of a strong master, behaved worse than the French nobility before the days of Richelieu or Louis XIV. After the death of Sultān Bahlul Lodi they had tried to prevent the succession of Prince Niẕām K͟hān with no success. Chafing under the strong rule of Sikandar who would not allow them to have their own way, they had conspired to dethrone him and replace him by Prince Fatḥ K͟hān, his brother. The death of Sultān Sikandar Lodi presented them with a fresh opportunity to perpetuate anarchy and strife to suit their own ends. Prince Ibrāhīm though well-known for his sagacity, bravery and other virtues, was well-known too, for his stern and uncompromising attitude towards them. It was his saying "Kingship knows no kinship,"[1] and that all big and small are alike servants of the king. He was thus a "persona non grata" with most of them. The Pat͟hān nobles who had a decisive say in the choiçe of a successor conspired[2] to make a division of the empire

(1) Ferishta M. U. Ms.

(2) Cf. Maāsir-i Rahīmi, A. S. B. I, p. 478 ; Mak͟hzan, M.U.Ms. p.116

Division of the Empire.

to suit their own ends. They decided to place in the original Lodi kingdom Prince Ibrāhīm, son of Sikandar and on the kingdom of Jaunpūr prince Jalāl K̲h̲ān, brother of Ibrāhīm, both being born of the same mother.[1] Ibrāhīm crowned himself on the 8th Ziqadh 823 Nov 22,1517, *i.e.* a day after his father's death, at an hour considered auspicious by the astrologers[2] at Āgra and took the title of Sultān Ibrāhīm. Prince Jalāl K̲h̲ān proceeded towards Jaunpūr by slow stages and reached Kālpi after ample rest and diversion in game-hunting and sight-seeing and appointed Fath K̲h̲ān, son of A'zam Humāyūn K̲h̲ān Sherwāni as his wazīr and Regent at Jaunpūr.[3] On hearing of the division of the kingdom into two halves, K̲h̲ān Jahān Lohāni[4] governor of Rāpri, came to Sultān Ibrāhīm at Āgra, and after formally congratulating him, began to reproach and rebuke the nobles and courtiers for their backing a policy of "dividing the affairs of kingship." He succeeded in converting all the court nobles to his view including the king who began to feel ashamed of this transaction.[5] After much

Khan Jahan Lohani's remonstrance.

(1) Tār. Sal. Afāgh, Yādgār, Buhār Ms. p.46.

(2) Mak̲h̲zan, M. U. Ms. p. 116. The 7th Zilhaj in Yādgār is a wrong date for Ibrāhīm Lodi's enthronement.

(3) Ṭab. A. S. B. p. 361; Mak̲h̲zan M. U. Ms. p. 116.

(4) K̲h̲ān Jahān Lodi, according to Tar. K̲h̲ān Jahān Lodi and Mak̲h̲zan; K̲h̲ān Jahān Lohāni according Ṭab. Akbari; according to Yādgār, K̲h̲ān Jahān Farmali.

(5) Badāūni, Muntak̲h̲ab I p. 326.

exchange of views it was decided that since prince Jalāl K̲h̲ān had not acquired strength and stability and had not even set his foot in the seat of his government, he should be summoned to the capital (at Āgra)[1] through a royal farmān, on the pretext of consulting him on a matter which could not be decided without him[2] and asking him to proceed to see the king without delay. The real intention was to imprison the prince and thus end the ills of a divided sovereignty. It was on this occasion, most probably that the Sultān ordered the arrest and imprisonment of his brothers—princes Ism'ail K̲h̲ān, Ḥusain K̲h̲ān and Maḥmūd K̲h̲ān.[3] Haibat K̲h̲ān surnamed the 'wolf killer,'[4] a peerless master in 'fox-tricks'[5] was selected to convey the farman to Kālpi.[6] Jalāl K̲h̲ān got intelligence of the plot before Haibat K̲h̲ān's arrival and postponed coming by putting polite excuses, in spite of the persuasive eloquence and flattery of the messenger. Instead, the prince proceeded post-haste to Jaunpūr. It was not long before that the cunning Haibat could detect the real cause and told every thing to the Sultān after his return to the capital.[7] The Sultān sent another party of nobles consisting

Jalal Khan summoned.

(1) Ṭabaqāt, Nizāmuddīn—Delhi.
(2) Mak̲h̲zan p. 117.
(3) See genealogical table. I.
(4) گرگ انداز
(5) Mak̲h̲zan M.U.Ms. p. 117.
(6) Ibid.
(7) پائه سریر by which Āgra is implied.

of Shaikẖzāda Muḥammad son of Shaikẖ Sa'id Farmali, Malik Isma'īl, son of Malik 'Alāuddīn gilwāni, Qāzi Majduddīn his chamberlain, to summon the prince from Jaunpūr with the result that "their charms also did not produce the desired effect."[1] At the suggestion of ministers and prudent counsellors the Sultān despatched separate farmāns to each of the governors and Jāgīrdārs of Jaunpūr promising reward and favours suiting the rank and status of every one of them on condition of their throwing off the allegiance of Jalāl Ḵẖān by refusing to obey his orders. To most of the nobles of Jaunpūr who had a following of 30/40 thousand mounted soldiers, like Daryā Ḵẖān Nūhāni governor of Bihār, Naṣir Ḵẖān Jāgīrdār of G̱ẖazipūr and Sẖāikẖzada Muḥammad Farmali governor[2] of Oudh and Lucknow and others, he sent a special envoy with horses, special robes of honour and richly bedecked swords instigating them to revolt from his brother. As soon as these farmāns reached them they all rose in rebellion including Jalāl's regent at Jaunpūr (Fatḥ Ḵẖān). The news pleased the Sultān and taking it as a happy augury, he placed a throne adorned and inlaid with precious stones in the palace and sat on it on Friday the 15th

(1) Cf. Makẖzan M. U. Ms. p. 117. و افسون ایشان نیز کار گر نشد The word "charm" (افسون) is used in a figurative sense and not in a literal sense as is supposed by Erskine Cf. Hist. of India I. p. 408.

(2) ظابط

Ibrahim sits on a throne.

of Zilhaj 923.[1] It was a departure from the practice of his father and grand-father who never sat on a raised platform before the nobles much less on a throne. It had a deeper significance. It was to give a practical shape to his idea that all nobles are servants—an idea directly antagonistic to the Paṭhān nature, which never tolerates a master. A grand feast was held and public audience given, robes, decorated swords and daggers, horses. elephants, offices, titles and Jāgīrs were bestowed on the chiefs, nobles, courtiers and soldiers according to their ranks and status. To gain the masses, he spent huge sums in charity to the pious and the needy and increased the allowances, stipends and pensions of all and sundry. In this way the affairs of the kingdom shone with fresh lustre and the state received renewed strength and vigour."[2]

Jalal Khan's revolt.

Prince Jalāl Khān found himslef in the position of Māmūn, governor of Khurāsān, who was threatened with the deprivation of his birth-right by his elder brother Amīn, Caliph of Baghdād, after the death of their father Caliph Hārūn-al Rashīd in 809 A.D. The conduct of his brother and the revolt of his nobles and officers alarmed him and knowing full well that there was no possibility of a reconciliation with his brother, [like Māmūn in Khurāsān], he abandoned Jaunpūr,[3]

(1) Ṭabaqāt I, 343 p.; Makhzan M. U. Ms. p. 118, Maaṣir-i Raḥīmī p. 480 ; Ferishta M. U. Ms.

(2) Makhzan M.U.Ms. p. 119

(3) Ṭab. Akb,. I, p. 343.

at the advice of a group of loyal supporters, and firmly establishing himself at Kālpi, took the title of Sultān Jalāluddin, issued coins and caused the 'Khutba' to be read in his name[1] and busied himself, in conciliating his subjects and equipping an army and pleasing Rājās and Zamīndārs of the parganas in his vicinity.[2] Thus strengthening himself, Jalāl Khān turned towards A'zam Humāyūn Khān Sherwāni who was besieging the fort of Kālanjar[3] [which was under the jurisdiction of the prince],[4] on behalf of Sultān Ibrāhīm, with a huge army and sent him an appeal in these words, "You are in the position of my father and uncle. You yourself know that I am not at fault and the breach of faith had been initiated from the side of Sultān Ibrāhīm and the little of property and belongings which were fixed as my birth-right, he has sewn his eyes to them even (*i.e.* coveted) and he had torn the stitch of affection with the sword of bad faith and has removed the cord of kindness.

Jalal Khan's message to Azam Humayun Sherwani.

(1) Makhzan M.U.Ms. p.119. 'Abdullah and Aḥmad Yādgār mention that he sat on a decorated throne on the 15th of Zilhaj 923, and bestowed gifts to the rich and poor. This incident has not been mentioned by more reliable authorities as Niẓāmuddīn, Badāuni or Ferishta.

(2) Ṭab. I. A.S.B. I, p. 344.

(3) Wrongly written as Gwālior in Makhzan; Kālanjar or Kālinjar is a town with a strong hill fort 1,203 ft. above sea level in the Girwān Tahsil, Bānda, dist. U.P. 35 miles east of Bānda town. Imp. Gaz. V. XIV. for a detailed description see Thornton's Gaz. Vol. XII.

(4) Ferishta Ms.

You ought not to cease up-holding the just cause for the sake of Islamic courage and render help to the aggrieved."[1] A'zam Humāyūn who bore a grudge against Sultān Ibrāhīm, being partly touched by the wretched plight of the prince and his obsequiousness, but more probably because he did not possess sufficient resource to oppose Sultān

Azam Humayun goes over to Jalal Khan.

Jalāluddīn, thought it prudent to temporise. He abandoned the siege of Kālanjar and joined him and pledged himself in solemn promises. They decided to free the kingdom of Jaunpūr from opposition and rebellion in the first instance. Accordingly their combined army fell on Sa'id Khān, son of Mubārak Khān, governor of Oudh[2] by rapid marches. The latter not venturnig on an action, fled towards Lucknow and informed the Sultān of what had taken place. At the report of this reverse the Sultān wanted to send

Imprisonment of the brothers.

a strong army against his brother with all possible haste. He postponed this campaign at the advice of his well wishers and ordered prince Shaikh Daulat Khān to convey his brothers,[3] princes Isma'il Khān, Husain Khān and Maḥmūd Khān who were in captivity[4] to the fort

(1) Ṭab. A.S.B. I, p. 344; Makhzan, M.U.Ms. p. 119.

(2) Ẓābit—a designation used by all historians.

(3) Yādgār (Buhār Coll. Imp. Lib.) p. 48 and 'Abdullah, Bānkipore Ms. mention that all his four brothers were in prison. This would make prince A'zam Humāyūn the fourth prisoner (See Genealogical tree).

(4) This is the first mention of the Princes by all historians as prisoners of Sultān Ibrāhīm. Cf. Ṭab. Vol. I, p. 344.

of Hānsi[1] and guard them there. The Sultān was at the same time kind enough to supply each of them with two wives and sufficient food and raiment. Thus secure of a revolt from his brothers and their partisans, he ordered the pay-masters (Bak̲h̲shis) to meet the demands of the soldiers and pay them one month's salary in advance. He then moved towards the east on Thursday the 24th Zilhaj, 923/7th Jan. 1518, and reached the township of Bhongāon, in the present Mainpūri district, and reduced the Rājpūts who were the supporters of Jalāl K̲h̲ān. From that place he turned towards Kanauj. While he was still on the way, he received the gladdening news that A'zam Humāyūn K̲h̲ān Sherwāni had deserted prince Jalāl K̲h̲ān, and was coming to join him along with his son Fatḥ K̲h̲ān Sherwāni,[2] the Wazīr and regent of Jalāl K̲h̲ān at Jaunpūr. This news gave the Sultān great accession of moral and material strength. He sent a party of nobles to escort him and honoured him by the bestowal of gifts.

Ibrahim marches against Jalal Khan, 923/1518.

During this time Mān-chand the Rājput Zamindar of Jartauli[3] in the jurisdiction of Kol

(1) Hānsi—Headquarters of the Tahsil of the same name in Hisār distt. Punjāb on the Rewari-Bhatinda branch of the Rājputāna-Mālwa Railway, 15 miles from Hisār. Imp. Gaz.

(2) Badāuni I, p. 263.

(3) In the Aligaṛh Vol. of U.P. Distt. Gaz. Jartauli is identified as Jatrauli in the Tappal Pargana. It may be that the name has suffered a little change owing to popular usage.

(Aligaṛh) pargana "which was a famous rebel stronghold" in those days, rose in rebellion and killed 'Umar K̲h̲ān Sherwāni s/o Sikandar Sūr, the governor of the locality, in a battle. Malik Qāsim governor of Sambhal was ordered by the Sultān to march against him, and after extinguishing the trouble, Malik Qāsim came to join the Sultān's camp at Kanauj. This incident took place in the early part of 924/1519.

Revolt of Man-chand at Jartauli, 1518.

Most of the zamīndārs and nobles like Sa'id K̲h̲ān and Shaik̲h̲zada Muḥammad Farmali, governor of Oudh[1] came to join the Sultān. The Sultān deputed A'ẕam Humāyūn K̲h̲ān Sherwāni, 'Aẕam Humāyūn Lodi, Naṣīr K̲h̲ān Lohāni and others with a huge army including a large number of war-elephants against Jalāl K̲h̲ān. The Prince who was at Kālpi anticipating an attack, left Ni'amat K̲h̲ātūn the widow of Qutb K̲h̲ān Lodi[2] and his family and dependents in the charge of 'Imād-ul Mulk Badruddīn in the Kālpi fort with an adequate force, and himself marched on Āgra, the capital city of the Lodis, before the arrival of the Sultān's army, at Kālpi, with a strong army consisting of 30 thousand cavalry and a few elephants. Meanwhile, Sultān Ibrāhīm arrived and besieged the Kālpi fort and captured it after a two days' bombardment with artillery and musket-fire. The city was completely destroyed and a huge booty collected.

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(1) Ṣubhi Ṣādiq Ms. Vol. IV, 1704(a) folio.

(2) For Jalāl K̲h̲ān Lodi *vide* page 63 & 96. Ni'mat K̲h̲ātūn now thrown under the protection of Prince Jalāl, must have been over 80 years of age.

On hearing of Prince Jalāl Khān's march towards Āgra, the Sultān deputed Malik Ādam Kākar for the defence of the city with all possible haste. When the Prince reached the skirts of Agra, he wanted to destroy the city as a reprisal for Kālpi. Malik Ādam, after reaching Āgra, opened negotiations and flattered the prince by false promises and desisted him from destroying the city with the object of gaining time for the arrival of reinforcement. Malik Isma'īl s/o 'Alāuddīn Jilwāni, Kabīr Khān Lodi, Bahādur Khān Lodi, having arrived with the royal army, Malik Ādam threw off the mask and sent an ultimatum to the prince in these words, "If you give up your lust for king-ship[1] and submit to the Sultān by surrendering the umbrella, the parasol, the drums and kettle-drums, trumpets and other emblems of royalty, and behave as an ordinary noble, the Sultān will be requested to pardon your faults and reinstal you in the Sarkar of Kālpi."[2] Prince Jalāl in spite of his having an army of 30 thousand cavalry and 160 elephants, showed cowardice and did not risk an encounter.[3] He consented to the terms, against the protests of the party faithful to him, and willing to risk their all in his cause. They remonstrated thus, "What a cowardice is it? The Sultan will by no means keep you alive. We have been eating

Jalal Khan's march on Agra.

Prince Jalal tricked by Adam Kakar, consents to terms.

(1) هوا و هوص باطل in Ṭab. Akb. and Ferishta literally stand for "Vain desires".

(2) Makhzan Ms. p. 121-2.

(3) Yādgār, Tār. Sal Afāgh, Buhār p. 50.

your salt for the last ten years; do pluck up courage, so that the brave and the riskers of their own life may fight for you .... The Sultān is haughty in disposition. Your end will be the same as that of the nobles of your father."[1] Jalāl having lost his golden opportunity, and faced with a formidable army, agreed to the terms. Ādam Kākar conveyed the prizes to the Sultān who had in the meantime passed from Kanauj to Etāwah, and informed him of the terms he had concluded. The Sultān "on account of his military preparedness,"[2] refused to accept them and marched against Jalāl. At this the Prince fled towards Gwālior, and sought asylum with Rāja Bikramājit, s/o Rāja Mān Singh, and his army dispersed in different directions. On reaching Āgra, Sultān Ibrāhīm, stayed for sometime. The hostile nobles, all offered their submission, and once more the kingdom was united under one monarch and the "affairs of the Sultān received a fresh lustre."[3] He despatched Haibat K͟hān, Karīmdād K͟hān Tūg͟h and Daulat K͟hān for the defence of Delhi and Shaik͟hzāda Manjhū for the defence of Chanderi, probably to secure it against a threatened Rājpūt attack led by Rāna Sānga.[4] Chanderi, it must be recalled, was in Lodi possession since 920/1514, and there the Mālwi prince Aḥmad K͟hān was a protege of the Sultān

Jalal Khan's flight to Gwalior.

(1) Ibid.
(2) Mak͟hzan M.U.Ms. p. 122.
(3) Mak͟hzan M.U.Ms. p. 122.
(4) For the Lodi—Lodi Mewār conflict. See Subsequent pages.

after the death of his father Muḥammad Khān (s/o Sul Nāṣeruddīn), in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi.[1] But the Sultān could not rest till he had got rid of all powerful nobles. He became suspicious of them, and "his mind became estranged from Miān Bhoa"[2] the chiefest of the Sikandari nobles and the all-powerful Wazīr and Privy Councillor[3] of the kingdom for the last 29 years of the reign of Sikandar Lodi, on the ground that "he had begun to show indifference to please the Sultān." He imprisoned this old and faithful servant and placed him in the custody of Malik Ādam Kākar. He however spared his son and kept him in his father's post and jāgīr.[4]

The Sultan's Gwalior campaign, 1518.

The Sultān now made up his mind to the conquest of Gwālior. The motive was partly lust for conquest and military glory, because Sultān Bahlul and Sikandar who cherished the ambition to subjugate Gwālior and had led armies to that purpose, had failed,[5] and partly

(1) *Vide* Mrs. Beveridge, Bāburnāma, II, p.598.

(2) Variously written as Bhoa, Bhūda or Bhūra.

(3) Mūshīr.

(4) The imprisonment of Miān Bhoa is placed by Niẓamūddīn and Ferishta just before the Gwalior campaign, by 'Abdullah, Yādgār and Ni'matullah after the Bādalgaṛh conquest. All unanimously agree to his execution after the conquest of Gwālior.

(5) "No king" says Ni'amatullah "was able to defeat him (Rāja Mān) because though outwardly he was a Hindu he was a Muslim in the core of his heart." This speaks of the catholicity of the Tunwār Rāja in religious matters.

because its Rāja had incurred his ill-will by sheltering the fugitive prince Jalāl K̲h̲ān. For this purpose, he sent an army consisting of 30 thousand cavalry and 350 elephants, under A'ẓam Humāyūn K̲h̲ān Sherwāni, made governor (Shiqdār) of Kaṛa for his desertion of Jalāl K̲h̲ān in 924/1518. When the army approached near Gwālior, Prince Jalāl K̲h̲ān came out of the fort and fled to Maḥmūd K̲h̲alji (II) of Mālwa. The Sultān sent reinforcements under Bhikan K̲h̲ān Lodi s/o 'Ālam K̲h̲ān Lodi, Jalāl K̲h̲ān Lodi,[1] Sulaimān Farmali, Bahadur K̲h̲ān Nūhāni, Malik Isma'il s/o Fīrūz Awān, Bahādur K̲h̲ān Sherwāni, K̲h̲iẓr K̲h̲ān Lodi, brother of Bhikan K̲h̲ān Lodi, K̲h̲iẓr K̲h̲ān Nūhāni and K̲h̲ān Jahān Lodi for the assistance of A'ẓam Humāyūn Sherwāni and to serve under his command. By that time Rāja Mān Singh "who was peerless in bravery and generosity" had died. After the defeat of Ḥusain Shah Sharqi, Rāja, Mān had become a vassal of the Lodi Sultāns. He appears to have been practically independent after the failure of Sikandar Lodi's Gwālior campaign in 908/1503.[2] He was succeeded by his son Rāja Bikramājit who had strengthened the Gwālior fort. Some time after, the Sultān personally went to Gwālior to conduct the siege operations. According to his orders, the nobles assembled daily to discuss tactical affairs. They decided to launch an attack on

Raja Bikramajit succeeds Raja Man of Gwalior.

(1) See Genealogical Table. I.

(2) Ferishta, M.U.Ms.

Bādalgaṛh a lofty stone[1] structure, in the low grounds which Rāja Mān Singh had constructed round the existing fort in order to make it impregnable. After a protracted siege, in which a large number of besiegers were killed by enemy musketry, the besieging army had caused a breach in the walls of the fort by gun-powder.[2] Bādalgaṛh was thus taken by storm and conquered. The royal army found there a brass cow which could bleat[3] (through mechanism) and which was worshipped by the Hindus for years. According to the orders of the Sultān it was conveyed to Delhi and set up in the Baghdād gate where it remained till the year 994/1585,[4] when it was brought to Faṭhpūr Sīkrī by orders of Emperor Akbar and melted and transformed into gongs. bells and cannon.[5]

Capture of Badalgarh, 1518.

The Sultān returned to Āgra[6] after the conquest of Bādalgaṛh in 924/1518. His suspicion against his nobles and kinsmen increased so much that he imprisoned most of them. Prince Jalāl Khān who fled to Sultān Maḥmūd Mālvi was not well-received by him. He fled

Flight of Jalal Khan to Gondwana -his arrest and execution.

(1) *Ibid.*

(2) 'Abdullah, Tār. Dāūdi, Bānkipore 189.

(3) Tār. Sal Afāgh, Buhār p.51.

(4) Badāūnī 1, p.328.

(5) Both Ni'matullah and Badāūni state that they had seen the statue in both states. Niẓāmuddīn and Ferishta saw it fixed at the Baghdād gate of Delhi. Yādgār in the Lāl Gate of Agra fort.

(6) to Delhi acc to Yādgār p 51

from Mālwa to the Rāja of Gaṛha-Katanka[1] in Gondwāna and was imprisoned by the Gonds,[2] who brought him to the Sultān to court his good-will, and not unnaturally, to get a handsome reward. The Sultān received the unfortunate Prince by holding a grand audience in which the Prince was conducted with his hands tied.[3] The Sultān gave orders to convey him to Hānsi and keep him in the prison along with his other brothers. Jalāl was however done to death on the way, according to the advice of some of the Sultān's well-wishers, through Aḥmad K̲h̲ān[4] who was sent by the Sultān for the purpose when the prince was on his way to Hānsi.

The Sultān, now rid of all opponents, and his rule now being unchallenged, became intensely distrustful of all his father's nobles and began to treat them harshly. The nobles too on their part began to hate the Sultān, and became apprehensive of their safety. The Sultān, unfortunately, did not stop there. He summoned A'ẓam Humāyūn K̲h̲ān Sherwāni[5] from the Gwālior camp. After the conquest of

Recall of Azam Humayun Khan Sherwani from Gwalior.

(1) Gaṛha Katanka is Gaṛha-Kota, a town in the Rehli tahsil, Saugar distt, C.P. (23.46 N and 79.9 E), at the junction of the Gāmbhir and Sonār rivers, 28 miles from Saugor town on the Damole road. Imp. Gaz. Vol. XII, p.161.

(2) Gonds acc to Badāūni.

(3) Tār. Sal Afāg̲h̲, Buhār p.50.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) He is described by Yādgār (Buhār, 51) as holding a manṣab of 12 thousand. Faṭh K̲h̲ān's name is added by Badāūni.

Bādalgaṛh, (that is the outer Gwālior fort), the main fort of Gwalior was invested by the royal army under the command of A'ẕam Humāyūn Kẖān Sherwāni. He had made many efforts to storm the walls by gun-powder and rockets,[1] but as the Rājpūt defenders repelled every assault by hurling ignited cotton heaps soaked in oil, the defenders were reduced to great straits by the volleys of mortars and grenades.[2] Rāja Bikramājit opened negotiations for the surrender of the fort by sending a present of seven maunds[3] of gold, his famous elephant "Shyām Sundar" and his daughter.[4] All of a sudden a 'farmān' came asking A'ẕam Humāyūn Kẖān Sherwāni to appear at the court. His sons warned him and told him that the Sultān would kill him as he had killed his other nobles." "It is for years" retorted A'ẕam Humāyūn, "that I have been eating the salt of this family, and have been its well-wisher. I will not turn my head (from obedience) lest I be accused of betraying my salt." Dāūd Kẖān Sherwāni said to him, "Our Sultān's head has turned wrong, he does not know how to distinguish between a faithful servant and a traitor. I am afraid, he will treat you like Mīān Bhoa and Hājī Kẖān." The loyal servant was unflinching in his determination to go to Āgra. Even the news of the execution by orders of the Sultān of Maḥmūd Kẖān Sherwāni and Ḥusain Kẖān Sāhū-kẖail and

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(1) Yādgār, Tār Sal Afāgẖ.

(2) *Ibid* Ms 56.

(3) A Persian 'man' is equal to about 4 seers.

(4) Tār Sal Afāgẖ Ms 56.

the advice of Dāūd Khān and Ilāhdad Khān did not deflect him from his intention. When he was at a distance of ten miles from the capital, he was stripped of the paraphernalia of rank, and treasures and was imprisoned along with his son Fath Khān[1] on arrival at Āgra. There is a touch of deep pathos when the loyal servant even after this ungrateful treatment told the Sultān these words, "My son (Islām Khān), is troublesome; it is necessary to take care of him. Secondly you should not stop the water supply for my ablutions nor earth-clods for use after making water."[2] Simultaneously with the imprisonment of A'ẓām Humāyūn Sherwāni, his son Islām Khān was dismissed from the Shiqdāri of Kaṛa, where he was officiating for his father during the latter's absence in the Gwālior campaign.

Imprisonment of Azam Humayun and Fath Khan Sherwani.

It was a disastrous step that Sultān Ibrāhīm had taken with consequences which he had no eyes to fore-see. It set fire to combustible elements and gave a signal for open revolt to the disaffected nobles. Islām Khān Sherwāni openly revolted at Kaṛa-Mānikpūr, and seized his father's property and

Revolt of Islam Khan at Kara, 1519.

(1) Fath Khan fled from prison acc to Yādgār, after his father's execution. Acc to 'Abdullah (T.D. p.200) he was released on condition of Ḥusain Khān Farmali's joining Sul Ibrāhīm. He survived the battle of Pānipat, joined Bābar and was conferred the title of Khān Jahān. Cf. Mrs. Bev. Bāburnāma, II, p.534 and 537.

(2) 'Kulūkh' for 'Istinja' Cf. Yādgār, Tār Sal Afāgh, and Tār Ḍāūdi. Bānkipore, p.211.

effects by ejecting Aḥmad K̲h̲ān Lodi, the assassin of Prince Jalāl K̲h̲ān who was rewarded for that service by the award of the Shiqdāri of Kaṛa Mānikpūr. After collecting an army Islām K̲h̲ān fell on Aḥmad K̲h̲ān and defeated him. The Sultān was about to send another army, because by that time Gwālior had been finally conquered by the royal troops which continued the operations even after the recall of A'ẓam Humāyūn K̲h̲ān Sherwāni, sometime in 1519 A.D. Suddenly A'ẓam Humāyūn Lodi and Sa'id K̲h̲ān Lodi[1] fled from the Sultān's presence[2] for fear of him to their Jāgīrs in the province of Lucknow and opened negotiations with Islām K̲h̲ān[3] and a serious revolt resulted. The Sultān ever-alert for such emergencies, deputed Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, brother of A'ẓam Humāyūn Lodi, the sons of Ḥusain Farmali, Majlis-i 'Āla Bahkāri Farmali, Shaik̲h̲zāda Muḥammad Farmali, 'Alī K̲h̲ān K̲h̲ānān Farmali, Dilāwar K̲h̲ān s/o Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, Sārang K̲h̲ān, Quṭb K̲h̲ān s/o G̲h̲āzi K̲h̲ān Jilwāni, Bhikan K̲h̲ān Lohāni, and Sikandar s/o Malik Ādam Kākar with a huge army against the confederates. When the royal army reached the town of Bangarmāu[4]

Sul Ibrahim sends a huge army.

(1) *Vide* genealogical table.

(2) "Presence" acc to Ni'matullah, "army" acc to 'Abdullah.

(3) Acc to 'Abdullah T.D. Bānkipore Ms., Islām K̲h̲ān joined the rebels by reaching himself there.

4) Bāngarmāu is a town in Safipūr tahṣīl Unāo distt, U.P. (26.54 N, & 80.13 E) near the Kalyāni river and Unāo-Hardoi Road. Imp. Gaz. Vol. VI, p.380.

The grand army defeated at Bangarmau, 1519/20.

Iqbal Khān, the former slave[1] and commander of A'ẓam Humāyūn Lodī's cavalry ambushed them with 5 thousand cavalry and some elephants. In the engagement he killed and wounded a large number of the Sultān's army and defeated and scattered the rest.

Ibrahim sends another army.

When the news of this reverse reached Sul Ibrāhīm he was beside himself with rage and began to admonish the nobles by sending 'farmāns' to the effect that as long as they did not succeed in bringing the territories from the control of the rebels they would be regarded as "accursed and condemned."[2] He sent another party of nobles and kinsmen with a huge army to reinforce the beaten army. On the other hand, he made Miān Bhoa the scape-goat of his rage, and put him to death under the most tragic circumstances.[3] According to the advice of his misguided well-wishers, the Sultān constructed for Miān Bhoa and other prisoners a palace with an under-ground chamber and after it was dry, he caused gun-powder to be placed in between the bricks. He then released all his intended victims including Miān Bhoa, and pretended to set them free in order to remove their fears, by the bestowal of gifts. One day, he pretended to ask them to advise him on the rebellion of "one Islām

Murder of Mian Bhoa.

(1) Ferishta M. U. Ms.

(2) مطرودان و مردودان

(3) *Vide* Yādgār, Tār Sal Afāgh Buhār p.51. Though unsupported by any other historian, Yādgār's story seems to be true.

Khān who was brought up under Sultān Sikandar," and took them to the newly constructed palace. When they had repaired there and were busy in conversation, the gun-powder was set fire to with the result that "Mīān Bhoa and others who were there, were blown by the wind of destruction in the same way as the leaf of a tree is blown by a tempest."[1]

The Sultan rejects rebel terms.

The rebels had collected about 40 thousand cavalry, and 500 elephants. When both the armies were about to be engaged in warfare, Shaikh Rājū Bukhāri,[2] a great saint of the age, intervened, and persuaded the rebels not to fight, whereupon, they agreed to go into voluntary exile, into another kingdom, on condition of the king's releasing A'ẓam Humāyūn Sherwāni. The terms when presented to the Sultān for approval were contemptuously rejected.[3] He sent peremptory orders to Daryā Khān Nūhāni, and Shaikhzāda Muḥammad Farmali and Naṣīr Khān, governor of Ghāzipūr to march on the rebels from their sides.

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(1) Acc to Niẓāmuddīn Mīān Bhoa was done to death after the defeat of Islām Khān and his party. If the story of Aḥmad Yādgār (Tār Sal Afāgh, Buhār p.51) is true, and it appears it is so, Mīān Bhoa was murdered, not after but before the defeat of Islām Khān.

(2) Shaikh Rājū Bukhāri seems to be a disciple of Makhdūm Jahāniān Jahāngasht, alias Jhāmaji, a saint who lies buried in Kanauj city. He constructed the tomb of the saint, in Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī's reign, as appears from the mutilated inscription on the door-way. Fuhrer, Arch Survey of India New Series Vol II p 80.

(3) Tār Sal Afāgh, Buhār, p.56. Makhzan M.U.Ms,p.125.

When both the armies hemmed on the rebels, the latter over-confident of victory and under-estimating the strength of the royal army stood to fight. Both armies arranged their soldiers into right, left, front, vanguard and rear. The battle raged furiously each side clasping the other. "So many heads fell in the battle-field, that an enumeration or description of it was beyond human capacity, and streams of blood ran through the battle-field." Islām Khān the rebel leader was wounded by a chance arrow[1] and killed. Sa'īd Khān Lodi was taken captive by Daryā Khān Lohāni's men and the rebel army was defeated and their estates came into the possession of the Sultān.[2] When the news of this victory was conveyed to the Sultān by post officials, he became intensely delighted and celebrated the victory by bestowing gold and cash on the poor.[3]

Defeat of the rebel army.

But this victory did not put an end to all opposition against the Sultān. Every fresh victory goaded him to fresh violence. He did not cease to hate the nobles and the nobles remained in a state of constant terror and panic and most of them became hostile to the Sultān openly or secretly. A culminating point was reached when the news of the murder of Miān Bhoa and

Effects of Azam Humayun's murder.

(1) Tār Sal Afāgh Buhār Ms. p.52.

(2) 'Abdullah, Tār Dāūdi, Bānkipore Ms, p.192-94. No historian has mentioned the date of this battle. It must have been fought in 925-6/1519-20.

(3) Yādgār, Tār Sal Afāgh Buhār Ms. p.58; Makhzan M.U.Ms. p.127.

A'ẕam Humāyūn K̲h̲ān Sherwāni leaked out, and everybody knew that they had met their doom at the instigation of the Sultān. "In the end" laments Yādgār[1] "the Sultān killed that sincere and loyal servant (A'ẕam Humāyūn) in prison and pulled out the roots of the kingdom with his own hands." It was enough to point out to the surviving nobles what doom awaited them and "every body looked for his own safety."[2] Its immediate consequence was that Daryā K̲h̲ān Nuhāni, governor of Bihār, K̲h̲ān Jahān and Miān Ḥusain Farmali rebelled—the latter at Chanderi.[3]

Aḥmad Yādgār and 'Abdullah mention the circumstances of the rebellion of Ḥusain K̲h̲ān Farmali and his murder at the instigation of the Sultān—an incident which increased the disaffection of the nobles. This is connected with the Sultān's Mewār Campaign.[4] A clash may have taken place between the Delhi and Mewār forces caused by the attack of Rāna Sānga on Chanderi.[5] Details are, unfortunately lacking, but the Rājpūt attempt for the conquest of Chanderi was no doubt frustrated.

The second clash took place immediately after the completion of the Gwālior campaign, in 925/

(1) Tār Sal Afāgh Buhār Ms. p.58.

(2) Tār Dāūdi, Bānkipore, 195.

(3) Ferishta Ms.

(4) Though mentioned by 'Abdullah and Yādgār only, there cannot be any doubt as to the two major clashes between Delhi and Mewār and there are references of them in the Rājpūt chronicles.

(5) *Vide* pp.142—3.

1519. After that event the Mewār and the Delhi boundaries drew nearer, firstly by the removal of an independent Gwālior, which existed as a buffer between the two kingdoms, secondly by the supremacy of Rāna Sānga in Mālwa after the defeat and capture of Maḥmūd II at his hands. Thirdly Rāna Sānga captured Ranthambhor from 'Alī Khān, (*vide* Tod's Annals p. 239) its chief, who had sought the protection of Sultān Sikandar Lodi. The Sultān dispatched Mīān Ḥusain Khān Farmali, and Mīān Ma'rūf, a premier noble and commander-in-chief of Sultān Sikandar Lodi, to serve under the command of Mīān Mākhan, to operate against Rāna Sānga, who seems to have taken advantage of the disaffection and rebellion of nobles to fish in troubled waters. It is difficult, from the abrupt references of Aḥmad Yādgār,[1] to determine who was the aggressor and who the aggressed. But from the scene of warfare at Bākrol and Ghatoli (Khatauli) described by Tod,[2] whose accounts exactly tally with those of the Muslim historians, who do not actually name the battle grounds, it seems, the war was fought in Mālwa territories, and in connexion with Mālwa affairs, and the initiative in attack, this time came from the Rāna. When the Imperial army had encamped face to face with the Mewār forces, the Sultān wrote to Mīān Mākhan to imprison Mīān Ḥusain Farmali and Mīān Ma'rūf "by

Second Mewar war 1519.

(1) Tār Sal Afāgh p.52.

(2) Annals of Rājashthān, 1, 349.

Attempt to capture Mian Maruf and Husain Farmali.

whatever means possible" and send them to the Sultān. Mīān Mākhan tried to imprison Mīān Ma'rūf by going to his tent on the pretext of expressing condolence, on the death of Mīān Ma'rūf's son. Mīān Ḥusain got intelligence of the plot and frustrated the attempt by repairing timely to Mīān Ma'rūf's camp.[1]

On Mīān Mākhan's informing the Sultān of what had happened, the Sultān sent a 'farmān' for the imprisonment of Mīān Ma'rūf and Mīān Ḥusain Farmali, to be read in Mīān Mākhan's camp. When the reading of the farmān was being staged, Mīān Ḥusain entered Mīān Mākhan's camp, with one thousand armed followers, and frustrated the second attempt as well. Mīān Ḥusain harangued Mīān Mākhan in these words, "We know that the farmān aims at our lives, but, we shall not give in so disgracefully." Seeing no way of escape, Ḥusain K̲h̲ān sent a messenger to Rāna Sānga, who at first suspected him of treacherous design, but later, sent his nephew with an escort of 1000 cavaliers, and both the deserters joined the Rāna. On the second day, Mīān Mākhan, weakened by the

Mian Husain deserts to Rana Sanga.

(1) Yādgār is in the habit of confusing the sequence of events. In the first place, he puts the rebellion of Islām K̲h̲ān s/o A'ẓam Humāyūn K̲h̲ān Sherwāni before the imprisonment of A'ẓam Humāyūn which is impossible in the face of it. And in between the defeat and death of Islām K̲h̲ān and the last Gwālior Campaign, he places this encounter with Mewār. 'Abdullah, who places the Mewār expedtition after the execution of A'ẓam Humāyūn is more logical.

desertion of his generals with their men, came to oppose the Rāna with 30,000 cavalry and 300 war elephants. When both the armies stood face to face, Mīān Mākhan sent a message to Mīān Ma'rūf requesting him not to follow the treacherous example of Mīān Ḥusain, whereupon, Mīān Ma'rūf sent a reply in these words, "For the last 30 years we have been eating the salt of Sultān Bahlul and his descendants. We were the commanders-in-chief of Sultān Sikandar. It was due to our exertions that the fort of Jaund (Chaund) and the territories of Nagarkot were captured. We brought the stone which was the god of the Hindus, for three thousand years......We brought seven maunds of gold from the Rāja of Bihār. When the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm began, new favourites sprang up, and have placed us in the category of traitors.[1] Still I will do every thing which is possible by me."[2] Mīān Ma'rūf rejoined the Imperial forces.[3] When the Mewār army drew near, Mīān Mākhan put Sa'īd Khān and Hāji Khān in the right, Ilahdād Khān and Yūsuf Khān in the left and himself commanded the vanguard. Mīān Ḥusain, displeased though he was with Mīān Mākhan, did not take part in the battle against the Imperial forces. On the first onslaught, the Rājpūts fighting with reckless bravery, defeated the Paṭhān army at Khatauil,[4]

Battle of Khatauli 1520.

(1) حرامخور literally a salt betrayer.

(2) Tār Sal Afāgh Buhār Ms. 54-5.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Abul Faẓl (Āīn II, Jarrett) places Khatoli (Ghatoli) in the Ranthambhor Sarkār. Katauli is situated on

1520, in which five Muslim generals met martyrdom including Daryā Khān. Mīān Mākhan fled and the Delhi forces, according to 'Abdullah,[1] were chased up to Bayāna.

When the Sultān heard of this disaster, he appeared post-haste with a fresh army on the bank of the Gāmbhir river,[2] and despatched Shaikh Ṭāha, to Ḥusain Khān asking him to join his forces, at which Mīān Ḥusain promised to do so, on condition of the Sultān's releasing Sa'īd Khān Yūsuf Khail (captured in the engagement in which Islām Khān was killed) and Faṭh Khān s/o A'ẓam Humāyūn Khān Sherwāni both of whom were rotting in prison. The Sultān agreed to it, and Ḥusain Khān deserted the Rāna with the result that the Mewār forces being off their guard, flushed as they were with their recent victory, were taken by surprise, attacked and defeated with terrible carnage. The Rāna himself was wounded and fled with a handful of

Battle of the Gambhir river.

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the bank of the Pārbati river at about 25.66 N and 76.50 E, south of the junction between the Chambal and the Pārbati rivers about 80 miles south of Bayāna. *Vide* Imp. Atlas of India (Pol. Edn.) Surv. Gen. of India, Cal. Pub., sheet 54.

(1) Tār Dāūdi, Bānkipore Ms p.169. Yādgār does not mention the appearance of the Sultān in person.

(2) The Gāmbhir river rises in the Central India ridges and joins the Bānganga (a tributary of the Chambal), at about 27.0 N and 77.40 E. *Vide* Imp. Atlas of India (Pol. Edn), Surv. Gen. of India, Cal. Pub., Sheet 54.

followers.[1] The Sultān became pleased, pardoned Ḥusain K̲h̲ān's past mis-deeds and after sending him a robe of honour, offered him jāgīr in any of the three places—Bihār, Sāran and Champāran Sarkārs, Chanderi or Sambhal. Ḥusain K̲h̲ān chose Chanderi, because he thought he would be safe amidst his kinsmen. This step involved the ejectment of Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, son of Muḥammad K̲h̲alji, (s/o of Sul Nāṣeruddīn, who had been invested with the title of Muḥammad Shāh by Sul Sikandar Lodī when he was competing for the throne of Mālwa against his brother Maḥmūd K̲h̲alji II) who had been living as a Lodī protege, rather as the virtual prisoner, in Chanderi which nominally belonged to him after his father's death.[2]

Mian Husain reconciliated with the Sultan.

Revolt and murder of Husain Farmali.

Ḥusain K̲h̲ān Farmali revolted soon after in Chanderi, when the Sultān executed A'ẓam Humāyūn K̲h̲ān Sherwāni. Sultān Ibrāhīm appointed one Shaik̲h̲ Farīd Daryābādi to assassinate Ḥusain K̲h̲ān in lieu of a reward of 800 Ashrafis and ten villages in jāgīr.[3] The

(1) Tār Sal Afāg̲h̲, Buhār Ms p.56. Sānga, already short of one eye, and an arm, was crippled by a cannon ball. (Tods Annals 238.)

(2) Cf. Mrs. Bev. Bāburnāma, II, 593. "Muḥammad Shāh (s/o Nāṣeruddīn Mālvi) survived Sul Sikandar and died in Sul Ibrāhīm's time, leaving a very young son Aḥmad Shāh, whom Sultān Ibrāhīm drove out and replaced by a man of his own," corroborates the story of the conferment of Chanderi on Ḥusain Farmali.

(3) 'Abdullah Tār Dāūdi, Bānkipore Ms p.204.

latter induced the Shaikhzādas of Chanderi,[1] who were 12 thousand strong, to kill Ḥusain Khān on the promise of a handsome reward. They besieged his house and killed him at mid-night.[2] Mīān Ma'rūf escaped a similar fate and joined Daryā Khān Nuhāni in Bihār.[3] When Ḥusain Farmali's house was besieged and there was no way of escape, he sent a last message through his deputy, upbraiding and cursing the Sultān for his traitorous conduct.[4]

Reconquest of Chanderi by Rana Sanga.

The success of the Imperial forces against Rāna Sānga was temporary. Very soon after, Rāna Sānga attacked and conquered Chanderi along with other Mālwa possessions following the downfall of the Mālwa kingdom,[5] and according to 'Abdullah,[6] the Rāna

(1) Shaikhzāda literally means sons of the chiefs of the Arab descent. It also connotes descendants of a great saint or holy man. The title Shaikh is also used to designate new converts to Islām. The Shāīkhzāda mentioned here, I suppose, belong to the latter category. This theory is strengthened by their numerical strength—*i.e.* 12 thousand, and also by Bābar's reference (Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II p.679), that the Farmalis who obtained great power under the Lodīs, were all of Farmūl (Kābul District) and descended from Shaikh Muḥammad Musalmān.

(2) Ferishta M.U.Ms.

(3) Tab Akb. II. p.28.

(4) Tār Dāūdi, Bānkipore Ms. p.207. Ḥusain Farmali's message to the Sultān "I did not contemplate injuring you; you bore me malice, both of us will die and God will deliver judgement."

(5) Mrs. Bev. Bābarnāma II, 483.

(6) Tār Dāūdi, Bānkipore Ms. p.208.

caused all the Shaikhzādas to be killed, and bestowed Chanderi to Medini Rāi.[1]

The cold-blooded murder of Miān Bhoa, A'ẓam Humāyūn Sherwāni and Ḥusain Farmali made the gulf between the king and his nobles and officers in the provinces unbridgeable. After the death of Daryā Khān Nuhāni which happened in 928-9/1521-2, his son Bahār Khān[2] who succeeded him in the governorship of Bihār rebelled.[3] He collected 1 lac of cavalry in the frontier of Bihār, was joined by all the nobles hostile to the Sultān and conquered all the territories upto Sambhal 928/9. He took the title of Sultān Muḥammad, caused the Khuṭba to be read and coins issued in his name in Bihār and its vicinity, and defeated the Sultān's army several times. Kanauj and the other side of the Ganges rebelled under the Paṭhān Chiefs—Naṣīr Khān Nuhāni, Ma'rūf Farmali, "and a crowd of other nobles," in the phrase of Bābar. After defeating Naṣīr Khān Nuhāni, who fled to Sultān Muḥammad, Sultān Ibrāhīm sent a large army against Sultān Muḥammad. A furious battle raged for several days,[4] it seems without any decisive results. It could not be fought to a finish because alarming reports were coming from

Revolt of Bahar Khan Nuhani at Bihar 152/22.

Encounter of the Sultan with Sultan Muhammad.

(1) Mrs. Bev. Bāburnāma, II, 593.

(2) Niẓamuddīn and Badāūni call him Bahādur Khān.

(3) Mrs. Bev. Bāburnāma II, c/f p.523. "These had been in rebellion for 3/4 years before Sultān Ibrāhīm's death, and when I defeated him (Ibrāhīm Lodī) were holding Kanauj and the whole country beyond it."

(4) Makhzan M.U.Ms. p.127.

the Punjāb which had serious repurcussion on the empire, making its dissolution almost complete.

Revolt of the provincial chiefs and nobles.

Soon after, Qāsim Khān in Sambhal, Niẓām Khān in Bayāna, Ḥasan Khān in Mīwāt, Muḥammad Zaitūn in Dholpūr, Tātār Khān Sārang Khāni in Gwālior, Ḥusain Khān Nuhāni in Rāpri, Quṭb Khān in Etāwah and 'Ālam Khān in Kālpi firmly established themselves, bidding defiance to the Sultān.[1] If left to himself, the Sultān was probably more than a match for the rebels, but now the centre of interest in the empire was transferred from the east to the west. Hitherto the eastern provinces had rebelled, but from 1519 the Punjāb too revolted leaving Sultān Ibrāhīm sandwiched between two rebel tracts, and preventing him crushing either of the two effectively.

Daulat Khān Lodi s/o Tātār Khān Lodi for a long time the governor of the Punjāb was summoned to present himself at the Sultān's court. He sent his son Dilāwar Khān[2] instead, whereupon the Sultān indignantly enquired why his father had not come. Dilāwar Khān put excuses to the effect that he would be coming leisurely with the treasures, the things immensely coveted by the Sultān.[3] He asked Dilāwar Khān to write to his father and

Daulat Khan summoned to court, sends his son Dilawar Khan.

(1) C/F Mrs. Bev. Bāburnāma II, p.523.

(2) Tār Sal Afāgh, Buhār Ms., p.56.

(3) C/F Mrs. Bev. Bābarnāma II, p.470 for Bābar's remark on Ibrāhīm Lodi's greed of money.

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threatened him (Dilāwar) with imprisonment if he did not turn up soon. The Sultān in order to terrorise Dilāwar, put him in prison for some time. He saw the nobles under torture, some tied to the walls. He was then brought out from prison and asked if he had seen the lot of the nobles who disobeyed the Sultān.[1] Seeing no way to escape from the wrath of the Sultān, Dilāwar Khān fled from Delhi and joined his father within six days at Lāhore and after narrating his own story advised him to take care of himself. Considering himself too weak to oppose the Sultān, he, on the one hand, invited his son Ghāzī Khān and other nobles and jāgīrdārs of the Punjāb,[2] and 'Ālam Khān s/o Sultān Sikandar from Gujrāt where he was living as a refugee with Muzaffar Shāh Gujrāti[3] to join him. On the other hand, Daulat Khān sent a petition through Dilāwar Khān to Bābar at Kābul acquainting him of the cruelty of the Sultān and the disaffection of the nobles and requesting him to deliver them.

Daulat Khan rebels in the Punjab.

This invitation was srengthened by the presentation of Indian mangoes preserved in honey, and 'pan' in the traditional Indian fashion (Yādgār Tār Sal Af.)

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(1) Tār Sal Afāgh, Buhār Ms. p.56.

(2) Makhzan M.U.Ms. p.128.

(3) Abdullah, T.D. Bānkipore Ms. p.214. But it is not possible of 'Ālam Khān to be called after the death of Daulat Khān, as 'Abdullah leads one to suppose.

On the eve of Ibrāhīm's battle with Bābar (in 1525 A.D.) the nobles of Ibrāhīm Lodī were so disgusted with their king that they even thought of placing Prince Bahādur K͟hān of Gujrāt (then visiting Northern India), on the throne of Delhi.[1]

(1) (Bayley, Mirat-i Sikandarī, 319).

CHAPTER IX.

Ibrahim Lodi's relations with Babar.

Ẓahīruddīn Muḥammad Bābar was born on Friday the 6th of Muḥarram 888/14th Feb. 1483.[1] He combined in his veins the blood of the two mighty scourges of mankind, Chan̉gīz and Tīmūr. His father 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā who held the appanage of Farghāna, a fertile tract of country now in Russian Turkestān, and only one of the innumerable fragments of the once mighty Timuride empire, was fifth in descent from Tīmūr, while his mother Qutlugh Nigār Khānam was a Mongol princess, the daughter of that cultured Yūnus Khān, the Grand Khān of Mongolistān.[2] After the death of his father[3] which happened on Ramaẓān 4, 899/8th June 1494 A.D., Bābar succeeded to one of the most troublesome

(1) Tārikh-i-Rashīdi, Elias and Ross p.173. He was named Zahīruddīn Muḥammad by Maulāna Munīr Marghināni but the uncultured Chaghtāis, finding it difficult to pronounce, preferred to call him by the name of Bābar. C/F Tār Rashīdi, p.172.

(2) Tār Rashīdi, Ross, 173.

(3) 'Umar Shaikh Mīrza, a veteran pigeon-flier died by falling from a precipice with the pigeons and the pigeon-house. C/F Tār Rashīdi, Ross 174, Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, I, p.13.

heritages—the throne of Farghāna, at the age of 11 years and 4 months with admirable accomplishments of a good swordsman, a mighty hunter, a brave warrior, and a never-failing marksman. It was the beginning of his misfortunes. He had to contend against the rivalry of his uncles who took advantage of his youth and inexperience to covet his heritage. But his courage, energy and resolution held him in good stead. In 1496 the principality of Samarqand held by his uncle plunged into a series of chaotic civil wars, a natural phenomenon which follows the break up of a mighty empire into fragments, each held by petty Princes jealous of one another. Bābar fished in troubled waters and seized Samarqand in 1497, only to lose Farghāna to Aḥmad Tambal as soon as his back was turned; and when he tried to relieve Farghāna, he lost Samarqand.[1] He regained Farghāna in 1500, but lost it again in the next year and went into exile.. He made a few unsuccessful attempts to regain Farghāna, and Samarqand with temporary success, till in 1503, he was finally driven from his home-land by the powerful Uzbeg Chief, Shaibāni Khān. Having lost all, he wandered from place to place in miserable exile with a handful of followers.[2] In 1504, he performed the most daring and the most fruitful exploits of his life, the capture of Kābul with its dependencies, during the civil war following the death of Ulugh Mīrzā, his uncle and ruler of

Babar's early career.

Babar's conquest of Kabul, 1504.

(1) Tār Rashīdi Ross, pp.174-5.

(2) *Ibid.* p.175.

Kābul. The possession of the kingdom of Kābul not only gave him a secure footing safe from the clutches of his enemies and far from the scene of perpetual war-fare, but also a base of operation against his home-land, where he was a foreigner as well as against the fertile tracts of Hindustān.

Babar's first expedition into India.

In 910/1504, after the conquest of Kābul, Bābar began to consider himself as the rightful heir to all the Timūride dominions in India as yet 'unredeemed.' From the time of Sultān Abū Sa'īd Mīrza, (great-grand-son of Tīmūr) the solidarity of the Timūride empire had come to an end, and it was reduced to independent principalities no longer obedient to the 'grand-seigneur.' Thus Kābul, Zābul, the western Tīmūride possession and Indian possessions became separate[1]. The Timūride dominions in India which included the Punjāb and Multān were already confined to the limits of Bhera,[2] K̲h̲ushāb[3] and Chenāb[4] and Chiniot[5] as early as the reign of Sultān Sayyid Mubārak S̲h̲āh. During the time of Bābar's occupation of Kābul these were ruled by

(1) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma I, p.382.

(2) Bhera is a tahsīl and town in the Shāhpūr district, Punjāb. (32.28 N & 72.56 E) on the left bank of the Jhelum. Imp. Gaz. Vol. VIII, p.101.

(3) K̲h̲ushāb is 40 miles lower down Jhelum from Bhera and a tahsil head-quarter of the same name, Shāhpūr distt, Punj. at 31.18 N and 72.38 E. Imp.Gaz.

(4) Chenāb in Rechna Doāb Punjāb.

(5) Chiniot is a tahsil head-quarter (31.43 N and 73.0), 52 miles N.E. of Jhang town. Imp. Gaz. Vol. X, p.265.

Sayyid 'Alī Khān, s/o Ghāzī Khān and grandson of Mīrza 'Alī Beg. Sayyid 'Alī Khān had acknowledgea the overlordship of Sultān Sikandar Lodī by causing the Khutba to be read in his name.[1]

With a view to conquering the remnant of the Timūride possessions in India, Bābar left Kābul in Sha'bān 910/January 1505 *via* Bādām-Chashma and Jagdalik Road. This is his first Indian expedition.[2] After halting at Ādinapūr, he came to Jamrūd *via* the Khyber. On his approach towards the Indian frontier, Sayyid 'Alī Khān abandoned Bhera and took shelter in Shorkot.[3] After crossing the Jhelum from Bigrām[4] which was the next halt, the idea of crossing the river Indus was abandoned[5] and a move to Kohāt was

Babar crosses the Jhelum & turns back.

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(1) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma I, p.

(2) The "Five Indian Expeditions" of Bābar are the subjects of much controversy. Scarcely two historians will agree as to their number or sequence. This is partly due to the gaps in Bāburnāma and partly due to the omission of the mediaeval historians to mention the expeditions Bābar undertook prior to that of 930/1523, that is, the one undertaken at the invitation of Daulat Khān. Only Abul Fazl Ferishta and 'Abdul Bāqi mention them. Many of the earlier expeditions had been in fact forays and raids and the actual number would certainly be more than five. Bābar mentions incidentally in his Memoirs that he undertook five expeditions the last crowning him with the possession of India.

(3) *Vide* F.N. on p.24.

(4) Bigrām is the name of the ancient city the ruins of which extend over a large area to the west of the present city of Peshāwar in the cantonment area. Cf. Bellew, Races in Afghanistān p.56.

(5) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma I, pp.308-9.

decided upon for the collection of booty. A successful raid upto the Indus was made and Bannū and the "waterless plains all the way" were sacked. On the 7th March 1504 he marched back to Kābul *via* the Gomal Pass.

As soon as Bābār's back was turned, Daulat K͟hān Lodī the governor of the Punjāb, naturally apprehensive of a Timūride Prince who had consolidated his position in Kābul and had designs upon India, took away all the territories of Sayyid 'Alī Mīrza and transferred them to his son 'Alī K͟hān.[1]

The cause of Bābar's second inroad into India was Shaibāq (Shaibāni) K͟hān's attack and investment of Qandahār in 913/1507. Bābar held a war council which decided that in view of Shaibāq K͟hān and the Uzbegs occupying the lands once held by Tīmūr and getting very strong, it was advisable "to put a wider space" between him and the strong foe, "by extending the kingdom at the expense of either Badak͟hshān or Hindustān."[2] Bābar being in favour of the latter alternative, left Kābul in Jamādi 1. 923/Sept. 1517 for India *via* the K͟hurd-Kābul Pass. When he had reached Qarūq-sai the K͟hiẓr K͟hail, the Shīmū K͟hail and other tribesmen between Jagdalik and Lamag͟hān were emboldened to attack him on the rumour which gained currency among them, that Bābar unable to withstand the Uzbeg attack had abandoned Kābul. They

Babar's second expedition into Hindustan.

Babar attacked by tribes-men.

(1) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma I, p.382.

(2) *Ibid* p.343.

in the end were hunted down and dispersed with great slaughter. Bābar halted at Ādinapūr (six marches from Kābul), and plundered the tribesmen after crossing the Birim river. He however, hastily returned to Kābul by the Bādipīch Road and ordered the crossing of the Pass to be inscribed on a rock above Bādipīch.[1] This hasty retreat was caused by a threatened invasion of Kābul and a conspiracy among his officers when he was busy in the east.[2] Here (at Bādipīch), Bābar took the title of Pādshāh instead of the usual title of Amīr used by Tīmūr and his descendants.

Babar's third Indian expedition, 1519.

Bābar led his army for the ṭhird time into India in 925/1519, this time determined to annex Bhera, K͟hushāb and Chiniot. "As it was always in my heart" he writes in his Memoirs, "to possess Hindustān, and as these several countries, Bhera, K͟hushāb, Chenāb and Chiniot, had once been held by the Turk, I pictured them as my own and was resolved to get them into my hands whether peacefully or by force." The occasion of his third expedition was a very opportune one. Torn by the open hostility of the nobles caused by the high-handed policy of Ibrāhīm Lodī, the empire was not in a position to oppose an invader seizing its distant territories. On the Ist Muḥarram, 925/4th Jan. 1519, Bābar turned

(1) *Ibid* p.343. "Hāfiẓ Mīrak wrote the inscription, Ustād Shāh Muḥammad did the cutting, not well enough through haste."

(2) Mrs. Bev. Bāburnāma, I, pp.345-6.

Capture of Bajaur, 1519.

towards Bajaur,[1] stormed it with gun-powder and artillery, and conquered it on the 7th January. A general massacre was ordered till 3000 heads according to Bābar's estimate had fallen on account of the Bajauris being "rebels and at enmity with the people of Islām" and "the heaṭhenish and hostile customs prevailing in their midst" until "the very name of Islām was rooted from their tribe."[2] After marrying a Yūsufzai bride at Panjkūra in Sawād Valley, the daughter of Malik Sulaimān Shāh, and grand-daughter of Malik Shāh Manṣūr the leader and envoy of the Yūsufzaīs, Bābar marched on Bhera on the bank of the Jhelum through the Qara Qupa and Ambahār passes, and crossed the Indus for the first time. On

(1) Bajaur is the chief town of the Bajaur Valley, *i.e.*, a tract of country in the Dīr-Swāt and Chitrāl Agency, old N.W.F.P., Imp. Gaz. Vol. VI., p.221.

(2) Bābar undoubtedly refers to the Qarmatians and not the Raushaniyas whose Prophet Pīr Raushan was born in 1525 A. D. The Qarmatians are so called from the name of an Isma'īli propagandist of the ninth century A.D., Hamdān Qarmat by name. The Qarmatians who are Shias of the sect of Seven are also known as Ta'limīs, Bātinīs (Esoterics) or heretics (Malāhida). Following their expulsion from Arabia, Baḥrain and Al-Ahsa where they had established governments of their own, they came to Sind and Multān and are mentioned in the reign of Maḥmūd Ghaznavi. The Qarmati, a Baloch clan, preserves the memory of its origin. Their cursing of the Prophet discarding of prayers and fasts, their esoteric and exoteric philosophy, their regard for the mystic numbers 7 and 12, enabled them to seek prosylites among the Hindūs and Buddhists accustomed to mystic philosophy and transmigration of the soul. These schismatics

his approaching near Bhera, 'Alī K̲h̲ān s/o G̲h̲āzī K̲h̲ān Lodī (s/o Daulat K̲h̲ān Lodī), Siktū s/o Diwā Hindū and other officers of Daulat K̲h̲ān offered submission. After the peaceful occupation of Bhera and K̲h̲ushāb, Bābar sent an envoy, Mullā Murshid by name[1] to Sultān Ibrāhīm and Daulat K̲h̲ān Lodī, demanding the restoration of the territories held by the Timūrides in India. The embassy was kept waiting for about five months at Lāhore. Daulat K̲h̲ān would neither meet it himself nor send it to Sultān Ibrāhīm.

Babar sends an envoy to Sultan Ibrahim.

Bābar put Hindū Beg in charge of Bhera, Ḥusain K̲h̲ān Aikrak and Langar K̲h̲ān in charge of Chenāb and K̲h̲ushāb recently seized. On Rabi 11, 925/13th March 1519, Bābar suddenly left Bhera for Kābul, probably on account of the invasion by Shāh Bēg Arg̲h̲ūn of his territories and the siege of Qandahār.[2] On the way he fell on Hātī K̲h̲ān Khokhar[3] who held the land between the Indus (Nilāb) and Bhera and had killed his brother

did not die out in spite of repeated persecution by Indian rulers. Browne, Literary History of Persia Vol. II. p.193 ff; O' leary, History of the Fatimide Caliphate pp.39-50; De Goejes' Carmatheans in Encyc. of Ethics and Religion; Massignon, Karmatians Encyc. of Islam; Lammens—Islamic Beliefs and Practices p.156161; Balfour Encyc. of India Vol. III. p.1100 ff; Elliot History of India Vol. I. p.491 ff; Titus, Indian Islam.

(1) Mrs. Bev. Bāburnāma, I, p.385.

(2) *Ibid* p.428.

(3) Niẓāmuddīn Tab Akb II p.3, 159, 160.

Tātār Khān Khokhar for his loyalty to the Lodīs and had usurped his wife. Hātī submitted after his stronghold Parhāla had been stormed.

No sooner was Bābar's back turned, than the Afghāns fell on Hindū Beg and expelled him from Bhera (April 26, 1519) and the people joined the Afghāns. Hindū Beg fled to Kābul to tell Bābar his woeful tale.

Invitations from Daulat Khan and Babar's 4th invasion.

The occasion of Bābar's fourth Indian invasion resulted from the representations of Daulat Khān through his son Dilāwar Khān and 'Ālam Khān s/o Sultān Sikandar,[1] who it appears was summoned by the leading nobles of the Punjāb from Gujrāt, where he was living as a pensioner of Muzaffar Shāh Gujrāti. The deputation presented to Bābar mangoes and 'pāns' (betel leaves) on behalf of Daulat Khān as has been said earlier. According to Aḥmad Yādgār, Bābar is said to have interrogated Dilāwar Khān why his father had mis-behaved, one whose

(1) 'Ālam Khān acc to Nizāmuddīn (Tab II p.1) was sent to Kābul with Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān. Acc to Yādgār, Dilāwar Khān led the deputation. Nor is it clear from Bāburnāma whether they led one and the same deputation or separate deputations. 'Ālam Khān who was living as an exile in the Gujrāt court following his complicity probably in a plot to dethrone Sikandar, was sent by Muzaffar Gujrāti to try his luck for the throne in 930 H, after dubbing him Sultān 'Alāuddīn. (Tār Haqqī). The date 931 for 'Ālam Khān's return given in Tār Haqqī is not acceptable. For 'Ālam Khān Lodī see also artic. by the writer published in the Proceeding of All-Pakistan Hist. conf. Karachi, 1951, p.217 ff.

family had taken salt for the last 40 years. Dilāwar replied that the "Sultān ill-treated the nobles and had killed 23 of them who were the foundations of his kingdom and pillars of his state without offence. When there was no remedy all the nobles deputed me to this august threshold." Bābar sent an advance party in the company of 'Ālam Khān which occupied Siālkot.[1] Encouraged at this success,[2] Bābar came to the Punjāb. But before he had reached the Indian soil, Ibrāhīm Lodī had sent Bahār Khān against Daulat Khān and Ghāzi Khān to punish them for their perfidy. Daulat Khān fled to the Balochis in the Balot[3] fort for refuge. Bābar crossed the Indus, passed through the Khokhar country and marching towards the Punjāb, occupied Lāhore (930/1523)[4] and burnt the market-place, after defeating Bahār Khān, Mubārak Khān Lodi and Bhikan Khān Lohāni.[5] After a four days' halt at Lāhore, Bābar moved south and captured Dīpālpūr and before he could reach Sirhind[6] his next objective, he decided to turn back. Accor-

Babar crosses the Indus and captures Lahore.

Babar returns to Kabul.

(1) Siālkot (32.36 N & 74.32 E) is the distt head-quarter, Punj, on the north bank of the Aik river.

(2) Mrs. Bev. Bāburnāma I, pp. 439-44

(3) Makhzan, M.U. Ms. p.129. For Identification see F.N. 3 page 2.

(4) The chronogram "Fath badaulat" gives the date. c/f Tār Rashīdi Ross, p.402. Badāūni Muntakhab I, p.331.

(5) Ferishta, Lucknow I, p.202.

(6) Sirhind town in Patiala state.

ding to Ni'matullah,[1] Daulat K̲h̲ān Lodī who was driven by Sultān Ibrāhīm to Balot, was brought to Bābar by Mīr K̲h̲alifa, when he (Bābar) passed towards the east from Peshāwar and seems to have been restored to the governorship of Lāhore after its conquest. For its investiture he presented Bābar with one thousand ashrafis (gold-coins) and 20 elephants.[2] The ambitious Daulat K̲h̲ān who had his own designs, suggested to Bābar to send an army against Isma'īl Jilwāni, which Bābar readily accepted. His son Dīlāwar K̲h̲ān pointed to Bābar that his father aimed at weakening the Mughal forces by division. Bābar discovered the ruse and confined G̲h̲āzī K̲h̲ān and Daulat K̲h̲ān. The latter was however pardoned and restored to the Jāgīrs of Jullundur and Sultānpūr instead of Lāhore. This did not satisfy him. So when Bābar was at a distance, he abandoned his jāgīr and fled to the hills, ostensibly to recruit an army. Bābar, afraid to leave danger in the rear, due to Daulat K̲h̲ān's disaffection, and more probably due to the approach of the Uzbegs, returned to Kābul. As soon as Bābar turned his back, Daulat K̲h̲ān came from the hills, seized his own son Dilāwar for his joining Bābar and revealing to him (Babar) his secret designs which he had hidden behind a polished exterior, occupied Sultānpūr and defeated 'Ālam K̲h̲ān at Dipālpūr and occupied Siālkot. An attack by him on Lāhore was frustrated by Bābar's

(1) Māk̲h̲zan M.U. Ms. p.129.

(2) Tār Sal Afāg̲h̲, Buhār Ms. p.60.

Daulat Khan occupies Sultanpur, defeats A'lam Khan & wins over an army of Sul Ibrahim.

officers. An army sent by Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī was won over by him. 'Ālam K̲h̲ān straight-way reached Kābul, acquainted him with the state of affairs and asked his help which Bābar promised to render on condition of his ('Ālam K̲h̲ān) getting the throne of Āgra and Delhi, leaving Bābar in the possession of all western territories.

Babar's fifth Indian Invasion, Nov. 1525.

Bābar's diary which is resumed from the 17th Nov. 1526 after a gap of nearly six years gives a full account of Bābar's fifth Indian campaign.[1] Bābar set out for Hindustān on the first Ṣafar, 932/Nov. 17, 1525, after he had the Uzbeg trouble in Balk̲h̲ well in hand, for punishing Daulat K̲h̲ān for his treachery. Coming to Ganadamak on Nov. 24, he marched from Bāgh-i-wafa the next stage of his journey, after Prince Humāyūn from Kābul and K̲h̲wāja Kilān from G̲h̲azni had joined him.[2] On

(1) Most of the Persian sources give a different account of this expedition of Bābar. In response to Daulat K̲h̲ān Lodi's invitation through Dilāwar K̲h̲ān and 'Ālam K̲h̲ān, and subsequent present of some Indian mangoes and 'pan,' acc to Yādgār when Dilawar K̲h̲ān was still at Kābul, Bābar sent a reconnoitring party along with 'Ālam K̲h̲ān, which conquered Siālkot and its vicinity. This event they place to 930/1523, according to Bābar's chronogram, "Fatḥ-ba-daulat." When Bābar received the news of this victory, he felt very much delighted and encouraged and set out for Hindustān on Ṣafar 1, 932/Nov. 17,1525. They thus do not mention the expedition which Bābar conducted personally as far as Lāhore in 930/1523.

(2) Mrs. Bev. Bāburnāma, II, p.447.

the 9th December, 1525, he came down to Peshāwar *via* 'Alī Masjid.[1] On the banks of the Kābul river he received the news that Daulat K̲h̲ān and G̲h̲āzī K̲h̲ān had collected an army of 20/30 thousand soldiers, and after capturing Kalānaur[2] were moving towards Lāhore. He sent a hasty message to his officers at Lāhore not to offer battle till his arrival. On Dec. 16, 1525, he crossed the Indus and marching through the Khokhar country, he crossed the Jhelum city. He heard everybody saying that G̲h̲āzi K̲h̲ān had collected 30/40 thousand soldiers and that Daulat K̲h̲ān had girded two swords to his waist. Ordering his generals to meet him on the Chenāb bank,[3] he came to Bahlul-pūr,[4] a K̲h̲alṣa (khāliṣa, crownland), about 10 miles south of the Sutlej on the Sirhind canal and ordered the construction of a fort there and the destruction of Siālkot and the transfer of its inhabitants to Bahlulpūr, on account of its being unhealthy due to people drinking pond

Daulat Khan captures Kalanaur & marches against Lahore.

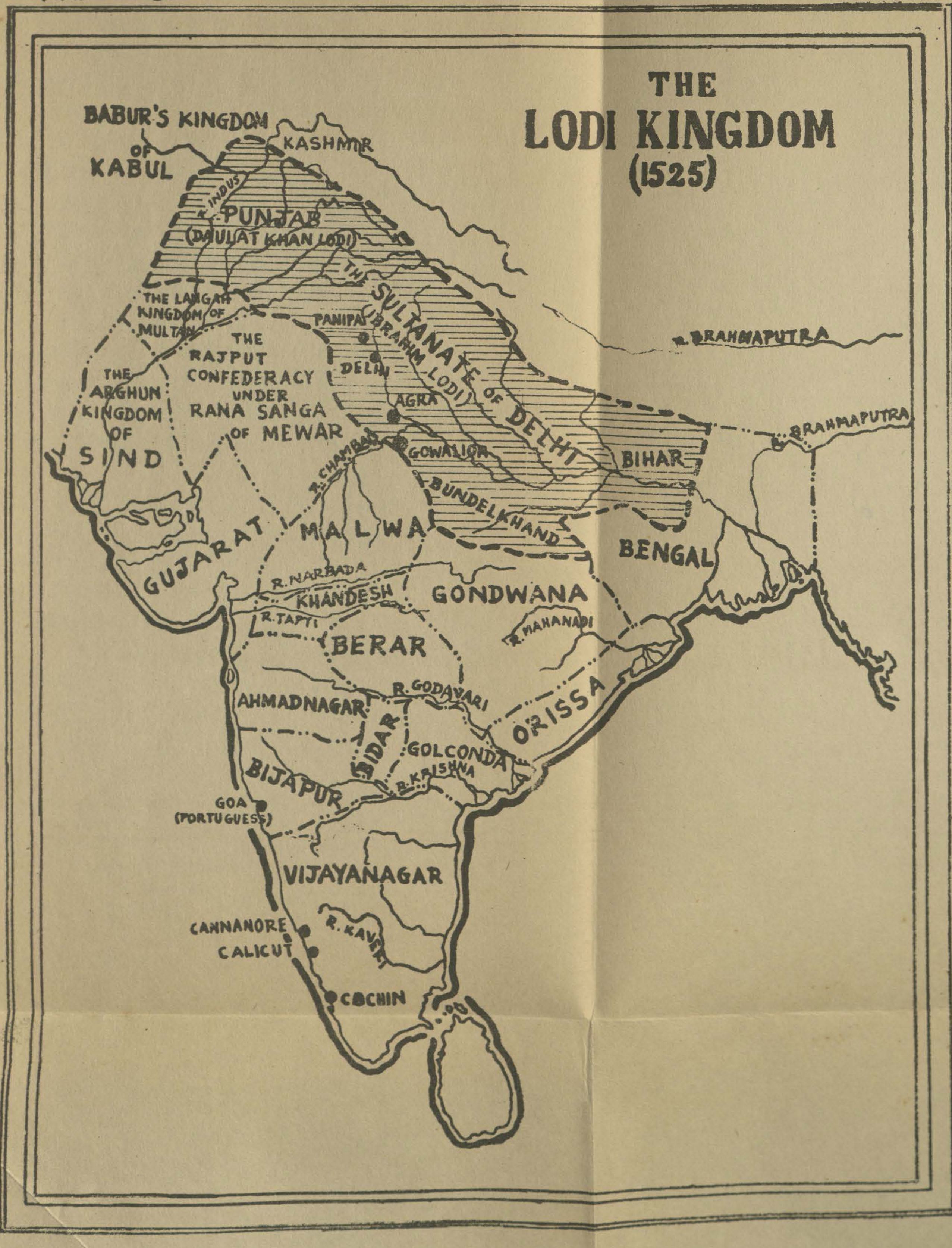
(1) 'Alī Masjid is a village and fort in the K̲h̲yber pass, N.W.F.P.

(2) There are two Kalānaurs—both in the Punjāb, one in Gurdāspūr district in 30.0.N and 75.10 E, 15 miles west of Gurdāspūr town, the other in Rothtak district, in 28.50 N and 76.24 E, 12 miles west of Rohtak town., Here the former is implied. Imp. Gaz.

(3) Tab Akb, II, p. 3.

(4) Bahlulpūr village founded by Bahlul Lodī lies in Samrāla tahsil, Ludhiāna district, Punj., 30 miles from the Ludhiāna town and in 30.55 N and 76.22 E. Punj. Distt. Gaz. Vol. XV, B, Table 30 and Sheet 53, Imperial Atlas of India, Surv. Gen's Office, Cal.

MAP NO. 3


THE
LODI KINGDOM
(1525)
BABUR'S KINGDOM
OF
KABUL
KASHMIR
INDUS
PUNJAB
(DAULAT KHAN LODI)
THE SULTANATE OF DELHI
(IBRAHIM LODI)
THE LANGAH
KINGDOM OF
MULTAN
PANIPAT
DELHI
AGRA
GOWALIOR
THE
RAJPUT
CONFEDERACY
UNDER
RANA SANGA
OF MEWAR
THE
ARGHUN
KINGDOM
OF
SIND
R. BRAHMAPUTRA
BRAHMAPUTRA
BIHAR
BUNDELKHAND
BENGAL
R. CHAMBAL
MALWA
GUJARAT
R. NARBADA
KHANDESH
GONDWANA
R. TAPTI
BERAR
R. MAHANADI
R. GODAVARI
AHMADNAGAR
BIDAR
GOLCONDA
ORISSA
BIJAPUR
R. KRISHNA
GOA
(PORTUGUESE)
VIJAYANAGAR
CANNANORE
CALICUT
R. KAVERI
COCHIN

water.[1] When he came to Siālkot, he received the news of the defeat of 'Ālam Khān in the hands of Sultān Ibrāhīm through a merchant.

Alam Khan approaches the officers of Babar to help him march on Delhi.

'Ālam Khān had taken leave of Bābar at Kābul in 1525, when the latter had been busy fighting the Uzbegs in Balkh,[2] and was not in a position to come to India. 'Ālam Khān after reaching Lāhore approached the Bābari nobles there to help him march on Delhi and Āgra along with Ghāzī Khān.[3] The nobles there refused to make the fickle Ghāzi Khān still in arms against Bābar a party to it until Ghāzi Khān had given pledges of his loyalty. 'Ālam Khān broke away with Bābar, sent his son Sher Khān[4] to Daulat Khān and Ghāzī Khān to act in concert for the seizure of Delhi and Āgra. 'Ālam Khān joined them and suddenly turned a patriot. His motive then seems to have been to free the country from the foreigners and a tyrant ruler (which Ibrāhīm Lodī was) and at the same time put on his own head the crown of Delhi. He did not like the idea of winning the throne with the intervention of the Mughals and thus give them a footing in the country. It is doubtful if 'Ālam Khān would have fulfilled the pledge to Bābar regarding the transfer of Lāhore, if he had won the throne of Delhi. Daulat Khān and the

(1) It is rather strange that the people of Siālkot should drink pond water, while the city was situated on the bank of the Āik, a perennial stream.

(2) *Vide* Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.455.

(3) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.455, Tab Akb, II, p.4.

(4) Nizāmuddīn wrongly calls him son of Daulat Khān.

other nobles hostile to Delhi had found to their cost what an invitation to a foreign prince meant. The western Afg͟hāns now merged all their differences and entered into a solemn pact[1] to the effect that Daulat K͟hān should occupy all the territories west of Delhi by taking to his side all Bābari nobles in the Punjāb, while 'Ālam K͟hān being reinforced by Dilāwar K͟hān and Hājī K͟hān, should occupy his paternal throne of Delhi and Āgra.[2]

Alam Khan breaks with Babar.

From this time there begins a triangular fight for the throne of Hindustān. But Daulat K͟hān and 'Ālam K͟hān had undertaken a task beyond their strength and resources, namely to fight Sultān Ibrāhīm and fight the foreigners at the same time. They would have had greater chances of success if instead of dividing their forces they had presented a united opposition either to Bābar or to Ibrāhīm Lodī. 'Ālam K͟hān on his way towards Delhi, was joined by Isma'il K͟hān Jilwāni, a deserter from the army of Sultān Ibrāhīm and Shaik͟hzāda Sulaimān Farmali governor of Indri,[3] in the present Karnāl district. 'Ālam K͟hān assumed the title of Sultān 'Alāuddīn. The confederate army which swelled to about 30/40 thousand effectives approached to invest Delhi. The attempt was however abandoned on the report of Sultān

Alam Khan marches to Delhi & is defeated.

(1) Mrs. Bev. II, p.456. Erskine History of India, I,p.425.

(2) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.456.

(3) Indri is now a decadent village in Karnāl district owned in pre-Partition times, entirely by the Nawāb of Kanjpūra.

Ibrāhīm's coming from Āgra. 'Ālam K͟hān stood to offer battle at a point 12 miles from Delhi. After skirmishing for some days, 'Ālam K͟hān decided to make a night-assault to facilitate the desertion of the Afg͟hāns from the Sultān's army, too sensitive to do it during the day-time. The results were far more disastrous to 'Ālam K͟hān than to his opponent. 'Ālam K͟hān had already been deserted by his eldest son Jalāl K͟hān, Daryā K͟hān Nuhāni and Shaik͟h Jamāl Farmali when the (night) assault was being delivered. A number of Afg͟hān leaders, however, deserted Ibrāhīm and joined 'Ālam K͟hān. A great confusion prevailed in the Sultān's army as the result of it, and the army was scattered. Ibrāhīm however remained at his post calmly with 5/6 thousand soldiers till dawn. Seeing 'Ālam K͟hān's army busy in collecting booty at what they considered an easy victory by scattering themselves in different directions, and little over 300[1] soldiers staying with 'Ālam K͟hān, Ibrāhīm led the attack on the centre of the enemy by seating himself on an elephant. 'Ālam K͟hān was defeated, most of his soldiers were killed and remnant fled like "shooting-stars." 'Ālam K͟hān fled to the Doāb and ultimately to the Gingūta fort in the Doons.

Thus the situation in India was playing into the hands of Bābar. Bābar who had come to the Punjāb, proceeded from Siālkot to Pasrūr[2] and

(1) Mak͟hzan, M. U. Ms. 129.

(2) Pasrūr or Parsrūr of the mediaeval historians is a tahsīl town in Siālkot distt. Punj. in 32.16N and 75.40E, Imp. Gaz. XX, p.23.

from there to Kalānaur and from Kalānaur to Malot, which he caused to be invested through the Hindustāni soldiers on the report of its containing G͟hāzi K͟hān. Daulat K͟hān Lodī sent a message through his grand-son, Isma'īl K͟hān,[1] informing him of G͟hāzi K͟hān's flight and proposing to surrender the fort and join Bābar on assurance of a pardon.[2] This being given, he came with his son, 'Alī K͟hān with two swords tied to his waist.[3] Bābar ordered the two swords to be hung from his neck and afterwards to be removed when he approached nearer and made him kneel down on a seat in front of him which he did with a great deal of hesitation.[4] Bābar told him through an interpreter, "I called thee father, I showed thee more honour and respect than thou couldst have asked. Thee and thy sons I saved from the door-to-door life among the Balochīs. Thy family and thy harem I freed from Ibrāhīm's prison house.[5] What ill sayest thou I have done to thee that thou shouldst hang a sword on thy either side, lead an army out, fall on the land of ours and stir strife and trouble?" Daulat K͟hān stood stupefied and muttered a

Ghazi Khan flees & Daulat Khan submits.

Daulat Khan imprisoned and dies.

(1) S/o 'Ali K͟hān S/o G͟hāzi K͟hān.

(2) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.459.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) *Ibid.* Daulat K͟hān's harem seems to have been imprisoned following his defeat in the hands of Bahār K͟hān in 1523 and released after Bābar's capture of Lāhore some months after.

few indistinct words.[1] Malot fort[2] was taken from him; his properties were confiscated and distributed among the Mug̲h̲al soldiers. Daulat K̲h̲ān was ordered to be put in the custody of K̲h̲waja Mīr-i-Mīrān. He died soon after in prison when he was being removed to Bhera.

After the capture of Malot, Bābar visited G̲h̲āzi K̲h̲ān's library which was 'rich in contents.' G̲h̲āzi K̲h̲ān fled to the hills on foot during the investment of Malot, in the darkness of the night. Some 3/4 days after the capture of Malot, Dilāwar K̲h̲ān came to the camp of Bābar and offered submission. Bābar chased G̲h̲āzi K̲h̲ān to the Doons and released a force to attack 'Ālam K̲h̲ān at Gingūta. Seeing no way of escape, 'Ālam K̲h̲ān came to offer submission the next day and received a grand reception.[3] Sometime after, Isma'īl Jilwāni and Baban submitted. Bābar next marched against Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, who he heard was coming to oppose him. He had received assurances of help from Rāna Sānga of Mewār and Ḥusain K̲h̲ān Mīwāti against Sulṭān Ibrāhīm[4] when he was at Kābul preparing for his fifth expedition into India, though none fulfilled the promise. He marched on Dipālpūr which he placed in the hands of one of his generals. He next

Babar marches against Sul Ibrahim Lodi.

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(1). Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, pp.459, 460.

(2) Malot in Hoshiārpūr Distt. Punjāb in 31.50 N and 76.0 E. Imp. Gaz.

(3) Tab Akb. II, pp.6, 7.

(4) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, pp.426, 529.

moved on Karnāl *via* Rūpar,[1] opposite to Sirhind. An envoy from Sultān Ibrāhīm arrived there, but he having had no credentials, Bābar sent 'one or two Sawādi guards' to confer. They were imprisoned by Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī.[2] Bābar came upto the banks of the Ghāggar[3] and heard of the move of Sultān Ibrāhīm from Delhi and of Ḥamīd Kh̲ān, the chief of the Lodī cavalry and the governor of Hiṣār Firūza[4] from the latter city. Bābar came to Ambāla where he he was joined by Kh̲wāja Baban with his forces, and sent prince Humāyūn along with Kh̲wāja Kilān. 'Atā Muḥammad Dildī and treasurer Walī against Ḥamīd Kh̲ān. On February 26, 1526, Humāyūn attacked and defeated Ḥamīd Kh̲ān in a sanguinary battle near Hiṣār Fīrūza in which a large number of Afgh̲āns were killed.

Battle of Hisar Firuza Feb. 26, 1526.

The fugitives were pursued till Hiṣār Fīrūza was conquered and fixed as appanage for Prince Humāyūn. Bābar came to Shahābād and then to

(1) Rūpar is a tahsil head-quarter in Ambāla Distt. Punjāb, in 30.58 N and 76.32 E.

(2) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma II, p.464.

(3) The Ghāggar is a rain-water stream which rises in the lower slopes of the Himālayās, and after passing through the Ambāla distt, Patiala state, and Hisār district loses itself in the Bikāner desert near Hanumān-gaṛh. Imp. Gaz.

(4) Ḥamīd Kh̲ān was the governor of Hisār Fīrūza. For his inscription in the north inner wall of the Barsi gate, (Hisār Fīrūza), dated the 5th Ziqadh, 928 (26th Sept, 1522) see Epigraphia Indica Vol. II. 1893, p. 433, No. 16.

Sarsawa[1] after crossing the Jumna. On hearing the news of the approach of Dāūd K͟hān Lodī, one of the chief nobles of Sultān Ibrāhīm[2] and his brother Ḥātim K͟hān as the advance party of the Sultān across the river into the Doāb with 5/6 thousand men, Bābar sent Sayyid Mahdi K͟hwāja, Sultān Mīrza and Junaid Barlās against Dāūd K͟hān. The Paṭhāns were again defeated with great slaughter. Ḥātim K͟hān with 60/70 followers was captured[3] and Dāūd K͟hān was killed.[4] (18, Jamadi 11, 932/April 1, 1526). The rest dispersed and fled to join Sultān Ibrāhīm.

Battle of the middle Doab with Daud Khan. 18 Jamadi II, 932

Sultān Ibrāhīm who was marching from Delhi by slow stages after sending Dāūd K͟hān as the leader of his advance party grew furious at the news of this reverse and came upon Bābar with one hundred thousand cavalry and 500/1000 elephants. While he was moving from Delhi to meet Bābar Sulṭān Ibrāhīm had consulted the astrologers who told him, they divined in their calculations that the entire army of Sultān Ibrāhīm, including the elephants had gone over to the Mug͟hal side. Ibrāhīm interpreted this as foreboding of a decisive victory, and ordered the march forward, while the astrologers made a timely flight.[5] Deciding

(1) Sarsawa in Sahāranpūr distt. (Nakur Taḥsīl) U.P. in 31.1 N and 77.25 E.

(2) Mak͟hzan M.U.Ms p.129.

(3) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.408.

(4) Mak͟hzān M.U. Ms. p.129. Bābar says nothing about Dāūd K͟hān.

(5) Tār Sal Afāg͟h, Buhār, p.62.

Babar marches against Sul Ibrahim Lodi.

to meet Sultān Ibrāhīm, Bābar resumed his march and halted for 5/6 days in the next stage of his journey for the collection of war-material including 700 carts which according to Badāūni were completed in one day.[1] Ustād 'Ali Quli was ordered to fasten the carts with chains of raw hide[2] twisted into the shape of serpents. When everything was ready, he held a war council and it was decided that the Mughal army should take position by advancing upto the town of Pānipat, where the Mughal right would be protected by the houses, the left by ditches and the front by breast-work of earth-sacks[3] and the plain field in between would afford an excellent ground for the full manoeuvre of the cavalry and covering the enemy.

Babar encamps at Panipat. April 26, 1526.

When preparations were complete, Bābar ordered for advance and encamped on Thursday, 29th Jamadi 11, 932/April 12, 1526, with the town of Pānipat on the right and at a distance of 12 miles from Sultān Ibrāhīm's camp.[4] The left he strengthened against attack by constructing a ditch and an abatis of felled trees. The front he protected by waggons and breast-works with gaps, bow-shot apart, to enable small groups of attacking parties to sally forth. Bābar

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(1) Muntakhab, I, p.334.

(2) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.468. It was a make-shift arrangement for the iron chains used by Salīm I, in the battle of Chaldirān in 1514 against the Persians.

(3) Badāuni I, p.334.

(4) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.469.

Babar arranges his soldiers.

arranged his soldiers in the traditional Timūride fashion into—(1) vanguard, (2& 3) left and right flanks, (4&5) left and right wings, (6&7) left and right centre, and (8) the reserve. He placed the artillery and matchlock-men in front.[1]

For a week from the 12th to the 19th April, the two armies stood face to face. Small attacking parties used to be dispatched from the Mughal flanks to provoke the Paṭhāns into a general engagement. During those days "from the dust of the horse's hoofs and movements of elephants, days did not vary much from nights."

Sultan Ibrahim's arrangement of his army.

Sultān Ibrāhīm was the earlier of the two combatants to reach Pānipat. He arranged his soldiers in the old traditional fashion, namely, the vanguard, the right, left, the centre and rear.[2] He had with him 10,00,000 men according to Bābar's estimate of which at least half were effectives.[3] Ibrāhīm had at his command the resources of an empire disturbed though

Resources of Ibrahim and Babar compared.

it was by rebellion, and a huge treasure accumulated by his father and grand-father. Against this Bābar was accompanied by

(1) For an account of the battle of Pānipat, I have supplemented the Persian sources with such modern works such as Mrs. Beveridge's Bāburnāma, Erskine's Hist. of India Vol. I, and Lanepoole and Rushbrook William's Bābar.

(2) Makhzan, M.U.Ms. p.129.

سلطان ابراهیم صفوف محاربه را از قلب و یمین و یسار و مقدمه و ثاق بمقاتله مسارعت نمود -

(3) Rushbrook William, Bābar, p.132.

the resources of the poor kingdom of Kābul, and 12 thousand soldiers including camp-followers. Sultān Ibrāhīm could have brought a larger army in the field if the eastern provinces were not in rebellion, and if he could have made a right use of his treasures by distributing them among his soldiers.[1] The Indian army hoped to sweep the enemy by sheer force of number, through cavalry, infantry matchlock-men and the elephantry, by resorting to mass attack from all fronts. Bābar brought with him improved tactics from Central Asia, so terrific in attack and consisting in surrounding the enemy by a wheeling formation of cavalry. Ibrāhīm Lodi must have been accompanied by field artillery effectively used in the Gwālior Campaign, and a huge quantity of mortars.[2] Bābar had the advantage over the Indian army in having some heavy pieces of artillery which though very slow in the frequency of their discharge, were manned by Ottoman gunners considered the best in those days in Europe and elsewhere. Bābar was a master of strategy, who seldom made a false move, whereas, Sultān Ibrāhīm full of pride, was inexperienced as a military commander and his movements without plans elicited sharp comments from Bābar.[3] And lastly "the Turki warriors[4] had greatly the advantage over their enemies, not only in experience but reputation and self-confidence," and I may add

(1) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.470.

(2) آتشبازی' بیشمار

(3) Erskine, History of India, I, p.434.

(4) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.470.

better endurance capacity and fighting qualities on account of their climatic advantages.

Bābar's soldiers home-sick though they had been, were flattered by recent victories they had gained over the Paṭhāns, no less than by the collection of rich booties—a great attraction no doubt for the poor mountaineers, but at Pānipat they were fully alive to the fact that defeat would mean for them thorough annihilation. Ibrāhīm's army which was composed of heterogenous elements—the Rājpūts, the Paṭhāns of various tribes under their feudal chiefs, the Miwātis and perhaps a small contingent of Mongols,[1] consisted mostly of inexperienced soldiers, half-hearted in the cause of their Sultān, many of whose chiefs secretly detested him for his cruelty. Personal bravery and numerical superiority were the only factors in favour of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, but they were no match against superior strategy and superior arms. Ibrāhīm Lodī committed the fatal tactical blunder of remaining inactive for a week allowing Bābar to entrench his position and give him greater chances of success.

Ibrāhīm Lodī remained unmoved in spite of the Mughal attacks. Realising that his chances of success lay in swift action, Bābar sent an attacking force of 4/5 thousand soldiers on Ṣafar 6, 932/ April 19, 1526, under Mahdi Khwāja, Muḥammad

(1) Since the days of Sultān Bahlul there was a contingent of Mongol soldiers as the personal guard of the Lodī kings. *Vide* Ferishta Ms. in connexion with Bahlul Lodī's character.

Babar sends an attacking party to provoke Sul Ibrahim into action.

Sultān Mīrza and others, while he himself with Prince Humāyūn remained in readiness to follow a victory or cover a retreat, whichever might come to pass. The attack miscarried, due perhaps to the darkness of the night;[1] the attackers lost their way and found themselves in a perilous position near the Paṭhān camp when the day dawned. The party succeeded in retreating to safety with a wound in the leg of Muḥammad 'Ali Jang Jang. This attack roused Sultān Ibrāhīm from inactivity. On the morning of Rajab 8, 932/April 21, 1526, that is on the third day of the attack on his camp, he marched upon the Mughals with a huge army "like the brazen ramparts of Alexander" and attired in a coat of mail.[2]

Sul Ibrahim delivers attack, on April 21, 1526.

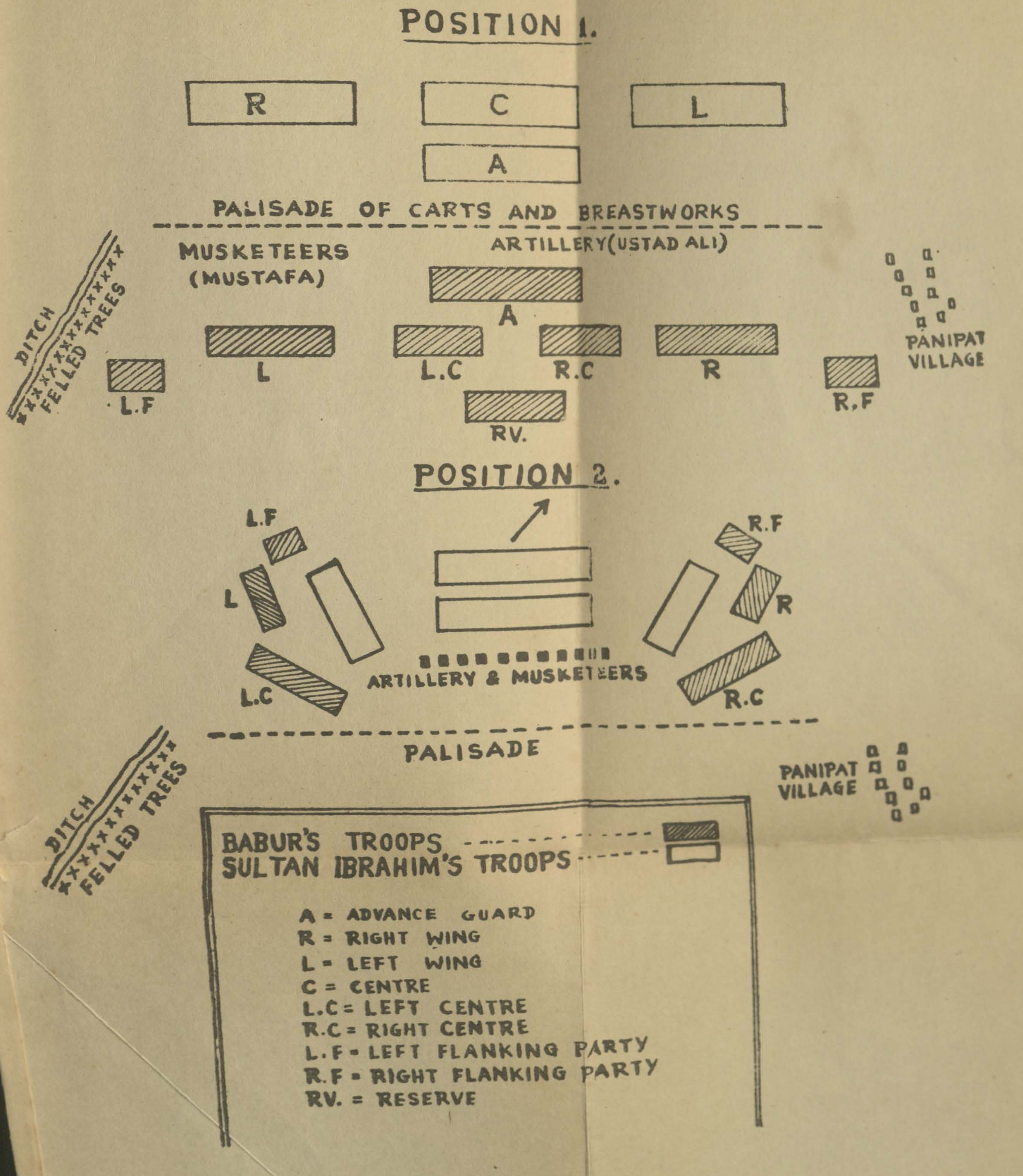
Bābar had drawn up his forces in battle formation—the right flanking party in the extremity of the line commanded by Walī Qizil (the Red Walī.) and Malik Qāsim, sheltered by the buildings of Pānipat; the right commanded by Prince Humāyūn, Khwāja Kilān, Sultān Muḥammad Duldai, Hindū Beg and others; left of it the right centre under Chīn Tīmūr Sultān, Sulaimān Mīrza, Muḥammadi Kukaldāsh and others; still left the left centre under Khalīfa Khwāja Mīr-i-Mīrān, Tardī Beg, Amīr Muḥibb 'Alī and others; to further left, the main left wing under Muḥammad Sultān-Mīrza, Mahdi Khwāja and others; on the extreme left, protected

Babar's arrangement of soldiers at Panipat.

(1) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, 471.
(2) Badāūni, I, p.335.

MAP NO. 4

BATTLE OF PANIPAT (1526)



by ditches and felled trees was the left flank commanded by Qara Quzi Abul Muḥammad the lancer and others. The van was under Kḫusrau Kukaldāsh and Muḥammad 'Ali Jang Jang; the reserve under 'Abdul 'Azīz, the master of the horse. In the front were posted the artillery and match-lock-men under the shelter of the waggons and breast-work. Thus his waggons were instruments of offence and defence. Ustad 'Alī Qulī stood with the heavy artillery on the right of the centre, and Musṭafa with the matchlocks and light artillery held the flank line. Bābar took his stand in the centre to enable him to direct the whole operation.

The Afghāns directed their attack on the right wing, and hampered by obstruction from the Pānipat town, were cramped in narrower spaces in consequence. Bābar strengthened the right by sending 'Abdul 'Azīz from the reserve. The Afghāns hesitated for a moment,[1] whether to advance or retreat for refitting, but there was no moment for thought or consideration, as the Afghān rear pushed ahead and caused considerable confusion. Bābar noticed the weakness of the enemy and ordered the 'tulughma or the flanking parties to hang on the Afghān rear by a wheeling movement and rain of arrows. A similar order to advance was given to the centre under Muḥammadi Kukaldāsh, Shāh Manṣūr Barlās and the artillery and match-lock-men to fire. The fighting became heavy in the Mughal left wing, which was the

The Afghans charge at the centre of the Mughals.

Futile Afghan charge, Babar orders for advance.

(1) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.473.

earlier of the two wing to engage the enemy, and Bābar strengthened it by rushing reinforcements from the centre. Fighting became general on all sides. The Afg̱hāns pressing from the front and wings were huddled up in the centre in hopeless confusion, unable to advance or retire, or use their arms. Ustād 'Alī with his Faringi pieces rained death upon the enemy ranks.

Sultān Ibrāhīm fought heroically and calmly. He attacked with elephants in front causing considerable confusion in the enemy ranks. The elephants were turned back by Mug̱hal artillery and matchlock and trampled upon the Paṭhān soldiers attempting to flee.[1] By mid-day all was over. Corpses lay in heaps on both sides. Some 15/16 thousand soldiers of Ibrāhīm including Afg̱hāns, Rājpūts and Miwātis lay dead in the first battle of Pānipat, perhaps the biggest pitched battle fought since that of Tarain. The first battle of Pānipat was a race of strategy against numbers and proved the uselessness of old tactics and formations against a smaller number of mobile horsemen. It decided the fate of Hindustān and of the Lodī dynasy. Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī with Shādī K̲h̲ān Kākar,[2] the chief noble of the Lodī court and Rāja Bikramājit, the ex-king of Gwalior[3] died fighting heroically. Some five to six thousand soldiers died fighting round Sultān Ibrāhīm. So terrible was the carnage that

(1) Sujjān Rāi, K̲h̲ulāsat. Ms.

(2) Mak̲h̲zan M.U. Ms. p.130.

(3) He was also the father-in-law of Sul Ibrāhīm. *Vide* Yādgār Tār Sal Afāg̱h, Buhār Ms. p.56.

the battle-field for years struck terror by its loneliness and desolation.[1] Bābar sent Dilāwar K̲h̲ān, s/o Daulat K̲h̲ān Lodī, to find out the body of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and it was with great difficulty discovered in the heap of the slain under two cubits of blood and dust, his crown having fallen off his head.[2] His head was brought to Bābar in the afternoon and his body buried by Bābar's order by Dilāwar K̲h̲ān and Amīr K̲h̲alīfa in the same spot where he had died.[3] When Sultān Ibrāhīm's head was presented to Bābar, he exclaimed "praised be thy heroism."[4]

The same day Bābar dispatched Prince Humāyūn with a party to attack Āgra and capture Sultān Ibrāhīm's treasures, and he himself entered Delhi and ordered the K̲h̲uṭba to be read and coins to be issued in his name. Āgra was captured on the 22nd Rajab, 932/5th May, 1526. Among the valuables sent to Humāyūn by Rāja Bikamājit's family then residing at Āgra, was the famous 'Kūh-i-nūr' whose value was estimated at a half-day's ration for the entire human race. Bābar thus became the ruler of India with Delhi, Āgra and the Punjāb.

(1) Badāūni, I, p.335.

(2) Tār Sal Afāg̲h̲, Buhār Ms., p.64.

(3) Mak̲h̲zan M.U. Ms. p.130. Our authorities do not mention clearly whether his trunk was buried, or the trunk with the severed head. The presumption is in favour of the head being buried with the body, as, Bābar had nothing to do with the head after the battle had been won.

(4) Tār Sal Afāg̲h̲, Buhār, p.64. آفرین باد جوانمردی تو

Sultān Ibrāhīm had reigned from the 8th Ziqadh, 923, to the 8th Rajab, 932, his total reign being 8 years, 8 months by lunar calculation, and 8 years, 5 months and 29 days by solar calculation. The date of the battle of Pānipat is preserved in the following Hindi chronogram[1] :—

نوسیٔ تیس اوپر دوتھا بیتا - پانی پت مین بھارت دیسا

آٹھون رجب سوکروارا - بابر جیتا ابراھیم ھارا

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(1) *Vide* Tār Dāūdi Bankipore Ms. p.202; Tār Sal Afāgh, Buhār, p.63. 7th Rajab by 'Abdullah, Yādgār and Ni'matullah is pardonable, because there is often a controversy of one day in the lunar date due to the poor visibility of the moon. *Vide* Beale Miftāḥut Tawārikh p.145 for the Chronogram.

CHAPTER X.

(A) Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī's character.

We do not possess enough material to construct the private character of Sultān Ibrāhīm. Historians who have described at length the characters of Sultān Bahlul or Sikandar, have made almost no mention of the private life of Sultān Ibrāhīm. As a Crown-Prince he was noted for his sagacity, bravery and excellent manners[1]—traits which he abandoned after his accession to the throne. Like his father and grand-father he seems to have been devotedly orthodox but was not a regular inconoclast like his father except with regard to the brazen cow seized in the Gwalior campaign and which he carried as a trophy to Delhi. As a soldier or general he does not display any conspicuous talents, except an iron will and a dauntless courage.

As a soldier.

He was endowed with personal bravery to a greater extent than his predecessors; he could stand cool and unperturbed in the face of the thickest danger. In the whole of his short but tempestuous reign he was unaffected by the disaffection and rebellion of his nobles and

(1) Tāb I A.S.B. 341.

kinsmen and fought with a spirit of boldness which evoked praise from his enemies. He personally took the field against his brother and superintended the operations against Gwalior which he conquered in 1519. When 'Ālam Kh̲ān Lodī after breaking away with Bābar marched upon Delhi and caused confusion in his army by a night assault, it was the personal bravery of the Sultān who remained unmoved in his tent till dawn that turned an inevitable defeat into a decisive victory. In the battle of Pānipat where he died, he displayed greater gallantry, led the attack without waiting to fight in the defensive and remained fighting at his post till his last breath with a group of dare-to-die battallions. The defeat of the Paṭhāns at Pānipat, may partly be attributed to the bad generalship of the Sultān. As a ruler he was laborious in the duties attached to his position and was assisted by a court clique which more often misguided him, and induced him to extremes. He was bent upon crushing the nobility which from the time of the later Tug̲hlaqs had reduced the Sultān to the position of an ornamental figure-head. He failed in the end because he employed too drastic and violent methods. Troubled as his reign was from beginning to end it could not have beneficent effects on the mass of the people. The ludicrous cheapness of commodities[1] in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm is a proof of the appalling indigence of the country, caused by the dearth of bullion and lack of peaceful

(1) Tār Dāūdi, Bānkipore p.223.

conditions which made the movement of grain and other commodities difficult if not impossible.

His relations with the nobility have to be examined with a dispassionate spirit. The Pāṭhān nobility with their traditions of democratic equality had been chafing under the strong rule of Bahlul and Sikandar and had been conspiring to perpetuate anarchy to suit their own ends. They had tried to prevent Sultān Sikandar's accession to the throne, had conspired to place Prince Fath K̲h̲ān, s/o Bahlul in place of Sultān Sikandar but had failed. They had tried to weaken the central power by making a division of the empire after the death of Sultān Sikandar. Their pretensions had reached a climax and had become intolerable. They had the possession of the whole country in their hands as Jāgirdārs and governors of big or small territorial areas. Their aims were detrimental to the prerogatives of the ruler and the sovereignty of the state. But in handling the situation Sultān Ibrāhīm misjudged his position as also their's and aggravated the situation by his tactless manipulation. If he had satisfied himself by asserting his position over the nobles whom he rightly regarded as servants of the state, if he had stopped after restoring the unity of the empire by defeating Jalāl K̲h̲ān, his nobles would have been conciliated and his purpose served. Instead he inaugurated a terrorism worthy of the Jacobins. The interest of the state demanded the punishment of its enemies not of its loyal supporters. 'Kingship' as he said 'knows

His policy of centralisation.

no kinship,' it is true, but kings should not strike at a noble only because he is a noble, pack him in his prison and end his agonies by a treacherous murder.

He lacked statesmanship and foresight. If he could strike and conquer, he did not know how to win and conciliate—qualities so essential in rulers. His policy was one of blood and iron. A never-fluctuating resolve marked its execution throughout. His departure from the traditions of his race so insistent on socialistic equality, by the construction of a throne and emphasis upon court formalities and etiquettes had brought a turning point in the life history of the Lodī dynasty. It was an innovation full of significance for the nobles who had seen better days and enjoyed respect during the days of Bahlul and Sikandar. His vindictive cruelty, the murder of one brother and the imprisonment of four others, the imprisonment and murder of loyal supporters like Miān Bhoa and A'ẓam Humāyūn Khān Sherwāni were suicidal acts. Every success against his enemies redoubled his zeal to strike harder and the pride of power and authority made him too blind to see that he was uprooting the foundation of his power with his own hands. Richelieu in France was met with a similar situation, but he stopped after making the nobles and the Huguenots submissive to the crown.

As a statesman.

When the whole east from Kanauj upto Behār had been lost to Delhi and the Mughal invader was hammering at the western gate and seizing

town after town, he dismissed the danger as insignificant, did not try to compose his differences with the nobles, nor give Bābar's envoy a reception. Breaking all traditions of the sanctity of envoys, he threw Bābar's envoys into prison. He proposed conciliation to Daulat K͟hān Lodi only when Bābar had appeared in the Punjāb, and taking into consideration the precedents of the Sultān regarding the observance of promises, it is doubtful if he would keep his words once his purpose had been served. Added to his vindictiveness, haughtiness, and cruelty he was treacherous to friend and foe. The cold-blooded murder of his brother Jalāl K͟hān and Ḥasan K͟hān Farmali are glaring testimony to it. If the nobles were guilty in their own conduct Ibrāhīm was the more guilty of the two parties.

Apart from the lack of statesmanship his habit of piling treasures which he did not use even in the time of crisis, led to disastrous result. He possessed a prodigious treasure an idea of which can be obtained from the memoirs of Bābar. Apart from the presents of cash and precious stones to his sons and generals and all soldiers present in the Indian campaign, presents for his friends and kinsmen in Samarqand, Kāshg͟har, K͟hurāsān and Irāq, and offerings to Makka, Madīna, Karbala and tombs of saints in K͟hurāsān, Bābar sent one 'shahrukh͟i' and one 'misqāl' of silver for every inhabitant of Kābul, whether male or female bond or free, adult or child, poor or rich.[1] Bābar

His parsimony.

(1) Cf. Ḥaidar Mīrza, Tār. Rashīdī Tr. Elias and Ross p.358. "He (Bābar, after Pānipat) and his army

who was himself large hearted and open-handed justly accuses Ibrāhīm of piling up riches. If Sultān Ibrāhīm had made a right use of his wealth and conciliated his soldiers he could have brought 1/2 lacs more soldiers to the field of Pānipat and turned the tide of the battle.

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became possessed of so much treasure, that all the world from there to Rūm and to K͟hitai, benefited by it. The rich brocades of Rūm and the embroidered satins of K͟hitai, which are scarce in those countries, were found in ass-loads."

(B) Mahmūd Lodī and last struggle of the Pathāns against Bābar.

The first battle of Pānipat which resulted in the defeat and death of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī gave Bābar the possession of Delhi, Āgra and the Punjāb. Outside of these tracts military chiefs and governors, not very willing partners under the yoke of Delhi during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm, remained in open defiance of the Mughal conqueror. Thus Qāsim Khān held himself in Sambhal, Niẓām Khān in Bayāna, Ḥasan Khān Miwāti so contemptuously spoken of by Bābar in his Memoirs for his perfidy, held Miwāt and Alwar fort. Ḥusain Khān Lohāni was in possession of Rāpri, Quṭb Khān of Etāwah, 'Ālam Khān Lodi of Kālpi, Tātār Khān Sārang Khāni of Gwālior and Muḥammad Zaitūn of Dholpūr. Kanauj and the other side of the Ganges were possessed by Naṣīr Khān and Ma'rūf Farmali as the deputies of Sultān Muḥammad Loḥāni (Bahār Khān) s/o Daryā Khān Lohāni who held the whole tract from Behār upto Kanauj in full independence ever since Daryā Khān's revolt early in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm. Even the township of Mahāwan[1] which is 40 miles from Āgra

(1) Mahāban (25.27 N & 77.45 E), then a fortified town (C.f Ain, Jarrett, II, 183) is a tahsil head-quarter, Muttra distt. U.P., near the left bank of the Jumna, 6 miles from the Muttra city. U.P. Distt. Gaz. Muttra.

was held by Marghūb, a slave of Sultān Ibrāhīm.[1] The people had quitted the towns for the countryside and had resorted to highway robbery, and there was no grain available for men and beasts.[2] People were in open opposition to the conqueror whom they took for an invader. Most of the chiefs and princes were under the delusion that Bābar like Tīmūr would go away leaving for each one of them ample opportunities for territorial gains. But there was no concerted opposition against the invader, nor any leader to guide them. Each was busy for his own aggrandisement though each of them seemed to stand for Maḥmūd Khān Lodi, brother of Sultān Ibrāhīm, last mentioned in history as a prisoner of his brother in the year 923 H/1517 at Hānsi. Following the death of his brother Sultān Ibrāhīm at Pānipat, he got himself released from prison, and sought shelter with Rāna Sānga of Mewār. The prospect for Bābar for the time being was gloomy. But the lenient treatment accorded by him to the defeated Paṭhāns including the mother of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī on whom he bestowed a pargana fetching 7 lac "dams"[3] bought a reaction in Bābar's favour. Shaikh Ghuran[4] from the Doāb and 'Alī Khān Farmali, who according to Ferishta, was incomparable in physical bulk, always had

(1) Tab Akb II, p.18.

(2) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.524.

(3) "dam" acc to Erskine.

(4) شیخ گهورن in Ferishta. See article on Shaikh Ghūran in the Proceedings of Indian Hist Cong, Aligaṛh 1943 p.406 ff.

'pān' in his mouth and never parted with his sword,[1] Shaikẖ Bāyazīd, Fīrūz Ḵẖān Sārang Ḵẖāni and Qāzi Jia joined him,[2] in addition to those Paṯhāns who had attached themselves to him on the eve of the battle of Pānipat. The next decisive step in strengthening Bābar's position was reached when, though hampered by the oppressive heat of the season and the protests of his soldiers, he decided to stay in India.

An attack by Baban (dismissed by Bābar for his insistence on sitting in his presence while he joined him on the eve of the battle of Pānipat), on Sambhal made Qāsim Ḵẖān seek Mugẖal protection and detatchments of the Mugẖal army conquered Rāprī from Ḥusain Ḵẖān Nuhāni and Etāwah from Quṭb Ḵẖān.

Soon after, Naṣīr Ḵẖān Nuhāni and Ma'rūf Farmali acting in the name of their liege-lord, Sultān Muḥammad of Behār, crossed the Ganges with 30/40 thousand soldiers and took Kanauj[3] and Rāna Sānga who had promised Bābar help against Sultān Ibrāhīm[4] moved from Chitor towards Bayāna after taking Kander from Ḥasan Ḵẖān, s/o Mīān Mākhan. Considering the Afgẖān invasion as the more menacing of the two, Bābar decided to take action against it first. He sent an army under Prince Humāyūn which defeated the

(1) Feriṣhta I, Lucknow p.206.

(2) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma II. p.527.

(3) *Ibid* p.530.

(4) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.529.

Paṭhāns at Jājmāu[1] and compelled Naṣīr K̲h̲ān to fall back on K̲h̲arīd.[2] Fath K̲h̲ān Sherwāni, s/o A'ẕam Humāyūn K̲h̲ān Sherwāni joined the Mughal army at Dalmāu[3] and being presented to Bābar was conferred a jāgīr with a crore and six lacs, apparently 'dams' more than his father's revenue and the title of K̲h̲ān-i K̲h̲ānān. His son Maḥmūd K̲h̲ān remained with Bābar as a hostage.[4] Humāyūn occupied Jaunpūr and chased Naṣīr K̲h̲ān upto G̲h̲āzipūr and was joined at Kaṛa by the Paṭhān chief 'Ālam K̲h̲ān Jighat. Niẕām K̲h̲ān of Bayāna threatened by the approach of Rāna Sānga, surrendered Bayāna to Bābar and got in lieu it a pargana in the Doāb. An attack by Mangat Raī,[5] a descendant of Rāja Mān Singh of Gwālior in collusion with the Paṭhān chief Ḥusain K̲h̲ān, prompted Tātār K̲h̲ān to surrender Gwālior though he made delays in fulfilling his promise. Bābar accused Rāna Sānga of bad faith for his failure to fulfil the promise of help, a promise which

(1) The ancient town of Jājmāu which gave its name to the Cawnpore Pargana and tahsil is now a decayed place on the bank of the Ganges east of the Cawnpore Cantonment, and four miles from the city. U.P. Distt. Gaz. Vol. XIX, p.294.

(2) K̲h̲arīd, placed by Abul Faẕl (Ain, Jarr, 165) in the Jaunpūr Sarkār, is a sub-division of the Ballia Distt., on the right bank of the Gogra.

(3) Dalmāu town is the tahsil head-quarter, Rāe Barely Distt., U.P., sit. in 26.4 N & 81.3 E, on the bank of the Ganges.

(4) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, Vol II, p.527.

(5) Ferishta, Lucknow I, p.207.

he had made by sending a mission to Kābul.[1] The Rāna, on the other hand, accused Bābar of failure to hand over Kālpi, Dholpūr and Bayāna as a part of his promise.[2] When Rāna Sānga with 2,01,000 soldiers advanced against Bābar, the conflict became one between Islām and Hinduism, for, Sānga's aim seems to have been the establishment of a 'Hindū Rāj' and he had taken up the cause of Maḥmūd Lodī, thinking of using him as a tool and a trump-card. Rāna Sānga who was coming towards Bayāna in full force defeated Bābar's troops deputed to strengthen its garrison and had killed Sangar Kḫān Janjūha, a Paṭhān chief. His soldiers were dispirited partly by the strenuous exertions of military campaigns in a country the features and climate of which they disliked and partly by the thought of fresh exertion against the brave Rājpūts. The astrologers gave bad augury and his nobles advised him to withdraw to the Punjāb by abandoning Delhi and Āgra.[3] This was a signal for the Paṭhāns to make a supreme effort, create disturbances on all sides, and recover the lost ground. Ḥusain Kḫān Nuhāni occupied Rāpri, Quṭb Kḫān took Chandwār,[4] Rustam Kḫān Kol (Aligaṛh), and Kanauj was recovered by the Paṭhāns. Gwālior was invested by the Hindus perhaps by Mangat Rāi, and his partisans once

(1) Erskine, Memoirs of Bābar Vol. I, p.339.

(2) Erskine Hist. of India, I, p.462.

(3) Ferishta, I, Lucknow, p.208.

(4) *Vide* foot-note on p.32 No. 4.

again; Haibat K̲h̲ān surnamed the "wolf-killer"[1] deserted Bābar and went towards Sambhal and Ḥasan K̲h̲ān of Bayāna joined the Hindus.[2]

Bābar met the situation calmly and decided to face the Rājpūts. Rāna Sānga's hosts included a number of subordinate Rāīs and Rāwals ; with him was Maḥmūd Lodī who had joined the Rāna with 10,000 Paṭhān soldiers intent on recovering Delhi and Āgra with Rājpūt assistance. But the larger part of the Afg̲h̲āns were with Bābar. On the Mug̲h̲al left centre happened to be Sultān 'Alāuddīn s/o Bahlul, in the right wing K̲h̲ān K̲h̲ānān Dilāwar K̲h̲ān s/o Daulat K̲h̲ān Lodī the governor of the Punjāb; Malik Dād Karrāni and Shaik̲h̲ Ghuran. Some divisions were commanded by Jalāl K̲h̲ān and Kamāl K̲h̲ān,[3] sons of 'Alāuddīn Lodī ('Ālam K̲h̲ān), 'Alī K̲h̲ān, Shaik̲h̲zāda-i-Farmali and Niẓām K̲h̲ān of Bayāna. The sanguinary battle of Kānwa, March 17,1527 registered the occupation of India by the Mug̲h̲als. Though the Rājpūts fought with great gallantry superior strategy gave Bābar a crushing victory. Rāna Sānga fled to Chitor with Maḥmūd Lodī and thus the attempt to establish a Hindū empire failed and the prospect of a Lodī revival dwindled.

Soon after the victory at Kānwa, Bābar sent an army to Kol (Aligaṛh) with the result that Rustam

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(1) گرگ انداز

(2) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, 557.

(3) *Ibid* pp. 567, 765, and 767; Ferishta I, Lucknow, p.208.

K̲h̲ān (Ilyās K̲h̲ān)[1] was defeated, caught and flayed alive by Bābar's orders.[2] For strategic reasons Bābar abandoned an invasion of Mewār but satisfied himself by plundering Miwāt and conquering the whole of it. After returning to Āgra, Bābar sent a detachment which regained Chandwār, Rāpri and Shamsabād from Abul Muḥammad.[3] Baban was defeated and pursued up to K̲h̲airabād.[4] Sending an army against Shaik̲h̲ Bāyazīd who had deserted him, Bābar proceeded towards Chanderi[5] then a very strong, rich and populous town, and took it by storm after killing a large number of Rājpūts, including its chief Medni Rāi who held it since its occupation by Rāna Sānga, after a defeat of Sul Ibrāhīm at his hands.[6] Chanderi was transferred to Aḥmad Shāh s/o Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, protege of Sultān Sikandar, s/o Sultān Nāṣeruddīn of Mālwa. He was however kept under strict supervision by a military governor (Faujdār).

While Bābar was preparing for an attack on Chanderi he heard the disquieting news of the fall of Kanauj and Shamsabād[7] and the defeat of the imperial army in the hands of Baban and Bāyazīd[8]

(1) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.805.
(2) *Ibid* p.576.
(3) Maasir-i Raḥīmī, Bib. Ind. p.509.
(4) K̲h̲airabād in 27.32 & N & 80.46 E, is a town in Distt. and Tahsil Sītāpūr, U.P. Imp. Gaz. Vol. XV, p.207.
(5) *Vide* foot-note on p.98, No. 4.
(6) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, pp.597 and 598.
(7) *Vide* foot-note on p.25, No. I.
(8) Mrs. Bev., Bāburnāma, II, p.598.

and its retreat to Rāpri. Bābar hastened to march towards the east. At Rāpri he was joined by the Mughal army.[1] On the report of Bābar's march, Shaikh Bāyazīd and Ma'rūf Farmali retreated and took up position on the bank of the Ganges opposite Kanauj. Bābar crossed the Ganges by throwing a bridge of boats. On the first day of the encounter the Paṭhāns had the better of their opponents but withdrew in the darkness of the night. A detachment under Chīn-Tīmūr Sultān beat Bāyazīd on the banks of the Sarjū[2] and occupied Lucknow. Bābar returned to Āgra on account of the heat.

Soon after his return to Āgra the eastern Afghāns rallied under the leadership of Maḥmūd Lodī whom they called from Riwā (Baghel Khand).[3] Maḥmūd Lodī after the Rājpūt defeat at Kānwa had fled to Chitor, where from he had withdrawn to Riwa and was looking for a fresh opportunity. After the death of Sultān Muḥammad Lohāni which happened in 1528, there was confusion in Behār caused by the pretension of rival chiefs each of whom put up claims on the throne. These were Baban Sāhūkhel, s/o Miān 'Aṭā Sāhūkhel[4] and Bāyazīd, Sher Khān Sūr who was fast rising into prominence, and Sultān Jalāluddīn, s/o Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī who had joined Bābar and had probably been pro-

(1) Ferishta, I, Lucknow, p.210.

(2) Mrs. Bev., considers it as Kāli-sarda-chauka, an affluent of the Ganges.

(3) *Vide* foot-note on p.31 No 5.

(4) 'Abbās, Tār Sher Shāhi, Elliot, IV, p.347.

mised the possession of his paternal throne of Jaunpūr.[1] To prevent disaster, the Paṭhāns had invited Maḥmūd Lodī, s/o Sultān Sikandar Lodī. He came and ascended the throne of Behār by ousting its young ruler, Jalāl K̲h̲ān, s/o Sultān Muḥammad (Bahār K̲h̲ān Lohāni) in 935 H/1528.[2] It was the last stand of the Paṭhāns, the last rally against the invader. Factions and strife the common features of Afg̲h̲ān life, ceased for the time being, except that of the Lohānis, and almost all chiefs gave their allegiance, so that Maḥmūd succeeded in collecting about 1,00,000 soldiers. Maḥmūd sent an army under Baban and Bāyazīd towards Gorakhpūr and another under Sher K̲h̲ān Sūr who had joined him with the utmost reluctance,[3] to attack Banāras, and himself accompanied by Fath K̲h̲ān, s/o A'ẓam Humāyūn K̲h̲ān Sherwāni (who had lately deserted Bābar), proceeded to attack Chunār.[4] The Paṭhān army under Sher K̲h̲ān captured Banāras by driving the officers of Jalāl K̲h̲ān Sharqī who held it for Bābar. On the receipt of these movements, Bābar sent an army under his son Mīrza Askarī on the 7th Rabi 11, 935/December 19,1528, and himself proceeded towards the east *via* Chand-

(1) Erskine Hist. of India, I, pp.498. 499.

(2) Qānūngo, Sher Shāh, p.57. *Vide* Wright, The Sultāns of Delhi—their Coins and Metrology, p.256, for the only coin of Maḥmūd Lodī dated 935/1528.

(3) 'Abbas, Tār Sher Shāhi, Elliot IV, 347. Sher Shah over-stayed in his Jāgīr and did not join till the personal appearance of Maḥmūd.

(4) *Vide* foot-note on p.48 No. 2.

wār, Rāpri, Fathpūr, Etāwah and Kaṛa[1] and crossed the Ganges. On the report of Bābar's approach, Maḥmūd Lodī retreated from Chunār after a light skirmish and Sher Khān precipitately abandoned Banāras, drowning two boats in confusion. Crossing the Ganges from its junction with the Tons, Bābar occupied Chunār and Ghāzipūr and prepared to meet Maḥmūd Lodī who had taken a new position by the Son. At Ghāzipūr Bābar received the allegiance of a number of Paṭhān chiefs too jealous to remain united for a long time. Thus Maḥmūd Khān Lohāni, Jalāl Khān Lohāni, the young exiled king of Behār, Sher Khān Sūr, Farīd Khān, s/o Naṣīr Khān and Ālāul Khān Sūr joined the Mughals. It was no longer a national opposition but the opposition of a faction under Maḥmūd Khān Lodī. Bābar encamped opposite Chaunsa and Buxar and followed Sultān Maḥmūd Lodī whose army being completely demoralised by defeats was daily growing thinner and thinner by desertion till he was left with 2000 men only. Maḥmūd fled without an encounter leaving two elephants and some men in enemy hands and sought asylum with Naṣrat Shāh, king of Bengal (925-39/1518-1522) with his family. Naṣrat Shāh married the daughter of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī and fixed a pension for his uncle-in-law *i.e.* Maḥmūd Lodī.[2] Maḥmūd died

(1) Bābar was sumptuously entertained at Kaṛa by Jalāluddīn Sharqī and was permitted to use for his son the title of Sul Muḥammad Shāh. Kaṛa the capital of Kaṛa Pargana, Sirathu Tahsīl, Allahabād Cf. U.P. Distt. Gaz. Allahabād Vol.

(2) Tab Akb, III, p.271.

in exile in Orissa in 949 H[1] 1542 A.D., after the conquest of Bengal by Sher Shāh. He quitted Bengal for reasons of personal safety as he had claims on the throne of Delhi.

While chasing the Paṭhāns, Bābar found himself face to face with the army of Bengal which stood in a hostile attitude with the support of a fleet at the confluence of the Gogrā with the Ganges. With the defeat and retreat of the Bengali army all opposition in the east came to an end. Bābar then chased a detachment of the unsubdued Paṭhān army under Baban and Bāyazīd and drove it to Bundelkhand.

With the defeat of Maḥmūd Lodī (the last Lodī ruler) the scions of the imperial Lodīs are no more mentioned in history. Ibrāhīm Lodī's only son whose name has not been mentioned by Bābar,[2] probably on account of his tender age, had been sent as a prisoner to Qandahār following an unsuccessful attempt made by the mother of Ibrāhīm Lodī (16th Rabi'1, 934 H/August 30,1527), to poison Bābar to death. Though leniently treated, that lady had harboured a feeling of revenge for the slayer of her son and the robber of the Afg͟hān heritage. It appears that Ibrāhīm's son had died in prison for he altogether disappears from history.[3]

In those times of storm and stress a man of talents and character was required to play the part

(1) 949 H/1542, acc to 'Abbās and 'Abdullah; 944 H/1537 acc to Ni'matullah. The former date seems to be correct.

(2) Bev. Mem. II, pp.541-44.

(3) Mem. II, pp.543-4.

of a national hero of a race which prefer tribal independence to national solidarity and which had been left demoralised and distracted after the national disaster at Pānipat. Maḥmūd Lodī who had spent about 8 years of his life in prison being allowed to indulge in sensual joys by a generous supply of wives,[1] had lost all initiative in action and was utterly devoid of qualities to lead his people. When a strong united opposition was the only solution to resist a foreign conqueror, a sensuous voluptuary like Maḥmūd Lodī whose best hobby was dallying with dancing girls,[2] was ill-fitted to play the part of a national hero. A man of average ability would have been able to maintain himself in Behār till the consolidation of the Mughal empire, if the Paṭhāns had been united. It was reserved for Sher Shāh to learn from the failure of his compatriots and raise a national opposition which culminated in the expulsion of Humāyūn and the establishment of a second Paṭhān empire under the Sūr Dynasty—a dynasty closely related to the Lodīs.

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(1) Tab Akb I, p.345. Makhzan-i-Afghāni. Muslim University Ms. p.120.

(2) 'Abbās, Elliot IV, p.350.

CHAPTER XI.

Institutions of the Lodī Sūltāns.

Section A.

Central Government.

We do not possess a full account of the working of the machinery of government during the Sayyid-Lodī period as we do of the Mughal period through the Āīn-i-Akbarī or the Dastūr-ūl 'Amls. The system of administration did not in essence differ from that obtaining during the Khalji, Tughlaq and Sayyid periods. Much of our material has to be based, naturally upon the working of the government during the pre-Lodī and post-Lodī periods. Historians make only a passing reference of the officers whose functions have sometimes to be determined with reference to similar offices held under the Abbasid or the Fātimid Caliphates. Though Bahlul Lodī had 34 nobles and Sikandar 53, very few are mentioned as holders of offices. Almost all the nobles held one office or the other and were not merely courtiers and hangers-on, waiting for royal favours. Nevertheless we possess enough material to reconstruct the structure of the governmental machinery.

Not only did northern India gain a stable government under the Lodīs after years of insecurity

and unrest, but a successful effort was made to evolve an administrative organization by purging old elements and introducing new life into it. The peace, security and prosperity which northern India enjoyed during the reign of the Lodī Sultāns are not so mueh due to their military success or presence of war-Lords as heads of provincial administration but to the regularization of the administrative machinery which survived the fall of the Lodīs. Sher Shāh had at his hands a purely Lodī administrative machinery transmitted unchanged through the first two Mughal rulers of India, a machinery which he reorganised in detail according to his past experience.

Nature of the Lodi Monarchy.

The Lodī government was an oligarchy. From beginning to the end of the dynasty almost all officers in the central and local governments, all jāgirdārs with the exception of a few Rājpūts, were Afghāns who were already in the country or arrived in it after the foundation of the Afghān dynasty. It was a government run by a few prominent Afghān families—the Lodīs, the Nūḥāns, the Farmalis and the Sherwānīs in their own interest. They were the real rulers of the country and the monarch was, according to their tradition, only a peer or an elected tribal chief. Bahlul never sat on the throne, nor required the nobles to stand before him. He contented himself with the title of the 'Maṣnad-i-'Ālā, the high-seated personage and when a noble was offended, he would try to appease him by putting his sword before him and saying "if you do not consider me fit for

the throne, elect somebody else." Bahlul who pretended to be the 'Nāib' or the Deputy of the effete Abbāsid Caliphate of Egypt, as almost all his copper coins and few billons show,[1] actually followed the traditions of the Slave, the Khalji and Tughlaq Sultāns. It may be that he tried to give a legal patent to his illegal usurpation, for, 'Ālāuddīn ('Ālam Shāh) the real and 'de jure' ruler of the so-called Sayyid Dynasty lived upto 883 H/1478 A.D. and maintained a shadowy court at Badāūn. This conception of sovereignty which considered the ruler as the head of a tribe and not as the shadow of God on earth, was new to India and opposed to the Indo-Turkish conception. It was workable in a small tribal area and not in an empire with its multifarious problems, in the same away as a fully democratic constitution is workable successfully in city-states and small republics. Monarchy in consequence vegetated into nothingness and became dependent on the sufferance of the nobles. Sikandar thoroughly broke the power of the nobles and made them submissive to the crown after the suppression of revolts following his disputed succession and dissolving the appanages created by his father including the kingdom of Jaunpūr. In his dealings with the nobles he proved himself no respecter of kin, office or rank.,[2] and was equally

(1) Wright, Sultāns of Delhi—their Coins and Metrology 245-6. Wright, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum II, 78-9

(2) C/f. his dealings with Mubārak Khān Nūhāni, Regent of Jaunpūr. Tab. Akb. I, 321.

severe on the rebels, who in disgust, tried to oust him from the throne. He had made the nobles accustomed to respect the king by the invention of rules for the respectful and ceremonious reception of his 'farmāns.' But Sikandar's mind was broad, his views statesman-like and his attitude never vindictive. He punished the rebels and offenders by the deprivation of office or favour, imprisonment or exile. Ibrāhīm Lodī tried to elevate the position and prestige of the monarchy by according the nobles no preferential treatment by considering them as merely servants of the crown, and making them stand with folded hands before the throne constructed by him in the year of his accession. This extreme conception of monarchical prerogative was incompatible with the Afghān temperament of restlessness under superior control and brought the downfall of the dynasty. A compromise, though not always the safest would have served the purpose better.

Monarchy its prerogatives.

The Sultān according to the Islāmic conception, was the lieutenant of the Khalifah who was the successor of the Prophet of Islam to whom the divine laws were revealed through the Qurān. He is an instrument for giving currency to the shar,' the Islamic canon law. Practically his power was absolute though theoretically he was responsible to the general body of the people whose mouth-piece the 'Ulama or the learned in Canon Law were. Though very strict followers of the Sharia outwardly and great patrons

of the learned, the Lodi Sultāns generally respected the learned opinion. The condemnation by Mullā Qādan of the Paṭhāns as an uncivilised race in the face of Bahlul and the generous reception by Sikandar Lodī of the remonstrances of Qāẓī 'Abdul Wahhāb on the Sultān's omission of fasts and prayer, shaving the beard and drinking wine, are illustrative of it.

The King's Council.

The king was however assisted in his deliberation on matters of state by a Council which met in his private Audience Hall, consisting of a selected number of grandees of which the Wazīr was the most important member. It was not a cabinet; there was no ministerial responsibility, no voting by majority, the members possessing merely advisory power. It was just like the King's Council, the 'Conseil du roi' subsisting in France during the days of monarchical absolutism. The King's Council had however an important part to play in the choice of a successor to the throne as is evidenced from the history of the enthronement of Princes Niẓām K͟hān and Ibrāhīm and though nomination of the heir-designate by the father was usually the rule, the consent of the nobles was essential to legalise the nomination in the same way as the election of tribal chief was valid when consented to by the members of the tribe. But once elected, the ruler was absolute and nothing short of a successful revolt could deprive him of the throne. While supervising a campaign, the Sultān consulted his War-Council in which military officers in addition to the Wazīr (if he did not stay

in the capital as King's regent) were present.[1] While leaving the capital for conducting military operations, the Sultān left a regent or a board of regency under distinguished nobles to deputise for him. Such an officer was known as the Wakīl or the Regent, the Nāib-i-G̲h̲aibat of the earlier Sultāns. Thus Bahlul Lodī left prince Bāyazīd as his Wakīl in Delhi while marching towards Multān for the first time (855 H/1451 A.D.); during the second, a board under Quṭb K̲h̲ān and K̲h̲ān Jahān. Prince Jalāl K̲h̲ān, s/o Sultān Sikandar, stayed at Kālpi while the government at Jaunpūr was conducted by his Wazīr and Regent Fatḥ K̲h̲ān Sherwāni. There was a permanent Wakīl or Deputy as president of the King's Court, when the Sultān could not preside in the court of Justice or was busy transacting other duties. We hear of Sultān Sikandar Lodī instructing his regent Daryā K̲h̲ān "to remain in the seat of Justice till the first watch of of the night."[2]

The Wakil.

The Central government worked through well-organised departments. The Lodīs were the successors to the institutions of their predecessors as they were of the throne. Certainly the institutions of the tribal organization could not be applied to the government of a sub-continent like Hindustān.

The following were the Officers of the Central government :—

(1) Even a head-strong ruler like Ibrāhīm Lodī daily consulted his War Council while besieging Bādalgaṛh.

(2) 'Abdullah, Tār. Dāūdi, Elliot, IV, 454.

1. The Wazīr or the Chief Minister.
2. The 'Āriẓ-i Lashkar-i Mamalik (Mamlakat)[1] or Bakhshi-i Mamalik. The War Minister and Pay-Master of fighting forces.
3. The Sipāh-sālār or the Commander-in-Chief.
4. The Dabīr or the Chief of the Correspondence Department.
5. The Mīr-i-'Adl or the Chief Justice.
6. The Ṣadr, Minister of Religious Endowments and Charities and Chief Justice of Canon Law.
7. The Ḥājib or the Chamberlain.
8. The Kotwāl or the Shahna, the Prefect of the City-Police.
9. The Muḥtasib or the Censor of Public Morals and Over-seer of Markets.
10. The Dārogha-i-Dāk-chaukī or the Superintendent of Posts and Chief Secret Intelligence Officer.
11. The (A)mīr-i-Kohī, the Superintendent of Agriculture and Irrigation.
12. The Chief Qāẓī or the Judge of the Canon Laws.
13. The Mīr-i-Shikār, Shikār Beg or the Master of Royal Hunt.
14. The Mīr-i-'Imārat or the Superintendent of Royal Buildings.
15. The Mīr-i-Baḥr, the Chief of the River Fleet.
16. The Khāṣṣa Khail, or the Chief of the king's Cavalry.

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(1) Tab. Akb. I, 174.

17. The Wakīl-i-Dar or the Mayor of the Palace.
18. The Silahdār, Sar-i-Silahdār or the Head Armour-bearer.
19. Sar-i Jāndār, the chief of the king's mounted body guard.
20. The Sarapardah-dār or the Head Eunuch of the women's Apartment
21. The Ak̲h̲ūrbeg, Mīr-i-Ak̲h̲ūr or Master of the Royal Stables.
22. The Shahna-i-Pīl or the Superintendent of Royal Elephants.
23. The Bārbak or the Grand Usher.
24. The Kitābdār or the Royal Librarian.
25. The Dawātdār or the Royal Ink-stand-Holder.
26. The Qurān K̲h̲wān or the Reciter of the Holy Qurān.
27. The Munajjam or the Court Astrologer.

The most important officer of the state was the Wazīr. A modern historian leads us infer that Bahlul had no Wazīr and under Sikandar Miān Bhoa "probably enjoyed the powers of the Wazīr."[1] In fact we find a continuity of Wazīrs. Bahlul had a Wazīr in 'Umar K̲h̲ān Sherwāni[2]; Miān Bhoa occupied that office under Sikandar till his imprisonment by Ibrāhīm and supercession by his son Dilāwar K̲h̲ān.[3] The advent of the

(1) Tripathi, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration p.192.
(2) Ferishta I, Lucknow 178.
(3) Tar. Dāūdi Elliot IV, 474.

Lodīs put an end to the usurpation of power by the Wazīrs who during the weak rule of the later Tug̲h̲laqs and the Sayyids had acquired the status of the unlimited Wazīrs of the Abbāsid-Caliphate. We hear no more of the masterful Wazīrs like K̲h̲ān-i-Jāhan who had become the real ruler of the country during the dotage of Firūz Tug̲h̲laq, or Sarwar-ul-Mulk who ill-paid his salt by murdering his patron Mubārak Shāh Sayyid, or Ḥisām K̲h̲ān and Ḥamīd K̲h̲ān who openly defied their patron 'Alāuddīn 'Ālam Shāh and usurped Delhi. The Lodī Wazīrs were submissive servants of the Crown and essentially civil officers, and unlike their predecessors they seldom conducted a campaign.[1]

Wizarat.

Though actually the head of the Dīwān or the Revenue Department, the Wazīr exercised a general supervision over all other departments as well. He was the chief member of the King's Council, acted for the King during his illness or incapacity, advised the King on matters of broad policy, affixed his signature to all monetary transactions which was considered essential for their validation,[2] checked the accounts of the Sarkār treasuries, settled revenue disputes or those relating to land tenure[3] and put his signature on the royal Farmāns. He was an intermediary between the

Functions of the Wazir.

(1) 'Umar K̲h̲ān Sherwāni who was the Lodī Commander-in-Chief at the battle of Jaund was not the Wazīr in those days.

(2) Sarkār, Mug̲h̲al Administration p.16; 1920 Edition.

(3) Tār. Dāūdi Elliot IV, p.454-5.

monarch and his people in accordance with the old Islamic practice. We do not know if there were Deputy Wazīrs (Nāib Wazīrs) working under a Chief Wazīr (Wazīr-i-Mamlakat or Mamālik) or the Dastūr, a directly imported Persian title and referred to by Bābar as 'the highest Wazīr.'[1] But there is reason to believe in the delegation of power by the Chief Wazīr, considering the fact that Mīān Bhoa the Wazīr of Sultān Sikandar and Ibrāhīm was also the head of the Judicial Department, (Mīr-i-'Adl). Nor do we know if there were separate Wazīrs for the revenue of the crown-lands (Dīwān-i-Khālīṣa) and Wazīr for the Salaries (Dīwān-i-Tān). In view of the highly centralised administrative machinery it may be presumed that the different branches of the revenue department worked through secretaries. There did certainly exist the Mushrif--i-Mamālik (Mamlakat), as the Accountant-General and the Mustaufi-i-Mamālik as the Auditor-General, last noticed during the Sayyid period. There was the Ṣadr to look after the Sultān's Religious Endowments and Charities and rent-free lands (the Madad-i-Ma'āsh, Aimma and Sayūrghāl tenures) in view of the fact that the Lodī rulers were prodigiously charitable. Bābar appointed Shaikh Zain to this office shortly after his conquest of India. There was a separate department for 'Nazr' and 'peshkash' (presents) as a subordinate branch of the Dīwān.[2] The Lodī

(1) Bāburnāma, Mrs. Bev. II, 570.

(2) Tār. Dāūdi, Elliot IV, 470-1.

Sultāns, Sikandar especially, kept a close watch on the treasury by inspecting its accounts daily.

The 'Āriz-i-Mamālik (Mamlakat) or Sar-i Lashkar often entitled the 'Imādul-Mulk,[1] the head of the Dīwān-ul 'Arz or the "Military Inspection Office,"[2] was the next important officer.[3] He was assisted in his office by the Nāib-i-'Arẓ (-i-Mamālik). During the reign of Bahlul the office was held by a noble related to Daryā K͟hān Nuhāni. Malik Aud͟hū was the Nāib-i-'Arẓ of Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī, captured by the Lodīs in the battle of the Ganges 884/1479. The 'Āriz-i-Mamālik was an important officer of the cabinet and War Council. His duties were those of a Minister of War of the present day and was concerned with the mustering of army and supply of the amunitions of war. He was the keeper of the military register including assignments of lands to military men, and the Pay-Master of the royal forces. We find this officer under the designation of the Bak͟hshi in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, when the latter ordered his Bak͟hshis to give one month's advance pay to his troops on the eve of the rebellion of his brother Jalāl K͟hān at Kālpi. The presumption is that this office became known as 'Bak͟hshi-gīrī' during the reign of Sikandar Lodī. It was the duty of the 'Āriẓ to inspect the horses and men for whom pay was drawn, periodically, and test new

The Ariz-i-Mamalik.

(1) Journal Indian Hist. Madras Vol. XIV 1935 p.96.

(2) Ameer Ali, Hist. of the Saracens 418.

(3) Frequently mentioned during preceding dynasties. C f Tār. Mub. Shāhi, 183, 201; Tab. Akb. I 266.

recruits to determine their pay or rank. There were many Bak̲h̲shīs working under a chief Bak̲h̲shī.

The Bak̲h̲shī was one of the four great officers of the realm, and had his seat in the King's Privy Council. Each army had a separate Bak̲h̲shī. The campaign over, the Mīr-i Bak̲h̲shī submitted an account connected with it in figures to the Dīwān's Office. He was essentially a civil officer whose business was to supply sinews of war rather than fight the wars himself.

The Commander-in-Chief.

Though the Sultān was the Commander-in-Chief of the forces, the practice was followed of having a permanent Sipāh-Sālār to assume the chief command of the royal army in the absence of the Sultān and act as the second-in-command when the Sultān accompanied the army. Thus we hear of Mīān Ma'rūf Farmali being the Commander-in-Chief during thirty years of the reign of Sultān Sikandar and Ibrāhīm.[1]

The Dabir.

The Dabīr was the head of the Dīwān-ul Inshā'. He drafted the letters of the Sultān to be sent to the local governors and independent rulers, imperial mandates, diplomas and sealed them after the approval of the Sultān, and presented the correspondence from the provinces including the schedule of prices of commodities to the notice of the Sultān in an abridged form and took instructions regarding the replies.

The Sultān imparted justice in the open court in the public audience hall, on certain days of the

(1) Yādgār. T.S.A. Buhār 54-5.

week (Sikandar Lodī did it daily), his court serving as a tribunal of the first instance as also the highest court of appeal, open to petitioners at all times. In the Sultān's absence or pre-occupation with other business, the Wakīl acted for him. Complicated Judicial and criminal cases were tried by the Sultān.[1] Sikandar Lodī who had the knack of deciding promptly knotty cases, once staged a special court consisting of almost all the chief learned men in the empire, while a Brahman, Bodhan (Yudhan) by name was accused of declaring before Muslims that "Hinduism and Islam are both true religions." The petitions were presented by the Ḥājib, the Chamberlain who also communicated to the parties the Sultān's decisions. But the Sultān ordinarily remained informed of the decisions arrived regarding a particular case by the Qāẓīs who were assisted in the finding of law points and precedents by Muftīs,[2] through pages. When the Qāẓīs differed, elucidation of law point was sought from learned canoneers in and outside the capital.

The Judiciary.

The High Court of Justice known as the Dār-ul 'Adl, was in charge of the Mīr-i-'Adl. Perhaps the duties of Mīr-i-'Adl were the same as those of the Qāẓī-ul-Quẓāt, for, we do not come across any mention of the Chief Qāẓī's court

The Mir-i-Adl.

(1) See the article entitled Justice of Sultān Sikandar Lodī in the Journal of Pakistan Hist. Society, Vol. II, pt. IV, Oct. 1954, p.272 ff.

(2) There were 12 learned men who sat in the court of Judgment as Muftīs in Sikandar's reign. Cf. Tr. Dāūdi, Elliot IV, 454.

functioning in the capital during the Lodī period. The office under this new title was an invention of Bahlul in whose reign we come across the first Mīr-i-'Adl in 'Imād-ul Mulk[1] in the year of his accession. The most curious thing in connection with the Lodī Judiciary is this that the office of the Chief Judge is combined with another office. 'Imād-ul-Mulk was also the 'Āriz-i-Mamālik; Mīān Bhoa the Wazīr of Sikandar and his son, held the same office in addition to being the Mīr-i-'Adl. Perhaps this devise was made to centralise the administration and to purge the Judiciary of corruption. The Mīr-i-'Adl like the Sultān was merely the president of the court deciding only complicated cases, of which judgments were written by the Qāẓī and findings of law made by the Muftīs.[2] This Dār-ul 'Adl heard both criminal and civil suits. Sikandar Lodī who held audience daily himself decided complicated judicial cases.

The Postal Department.

The Dārogha-i-Dāk-chaukī (Ṣāhib-ul-Barīd of the Abbasids, the Head of the Dīwān-ul Barīd) was also the head of Intelligence Department. He regularly superintended the dispatch of mails, daily submitted reports about occurrences in the provinces, the condition of agriculture and the peasantry, the attitude of local authorities, condition of mints, amount of gold

(1) Tab. Akb. I, 314.

(2) Like the Sultān, Mīān Bhoa had a reputation for intelligence and ready wit *vide* Chap VII on Sultān Sikandar's character

and silver coined, and prepared briefs from reports of the provincial postmasters supplied through secret police.[1] The horse post was revived by Sultān Sikandar Lodī and relays of horses, kept in constant readiness,[2] carried mails from one stage to another. Pavilions open on four sides to serve as 'Chauki' were erected at convenient distances on the road-side and the salary of the staff and the cost of the maintenance of horses were realised from the nearest village in case of crown-land and from the jāgīrdār if it happened to be a jāgīr land.[3] So successfully did the espionage system through the posts work and so thoroughly informed was the Sultān of every occurrence big and small including the domestic affairs of individual noble, that the credulous people believed that Sultān Sikandar Lodī possessed a secret lamp whose two guardian genii supplied him all the information. Sultān Ibrāhīm received the first news of the victory of the royal forces over Islām K̲h̲ān s/o 'Az̤am Humāyūn K̲h̲ān Sherwānī and his confederates through post office staff.

One of the prize posts in the metropolis was that of Kotwāl or the Prefect of the City Police whose functions have been discussed in Section C.

(1) Ameer Ali, Hist. of the Saracens, 417.

(2) Bābar kept 6 horses at every stage, 9 Karohs (18 miles) distant from each other, in a new road he constructed between Āgra and Kābul following, most probably, the old practice

(3) Cf. Bāburnāma II, Mrs. Bev 629.

The Ḥājib, the Chamberlain was an important officer in the Sultanate. The duties of the Ḥājibs were to receive the petition of the complainants to be presented to the crown,[1] to hand over to the parties the decision of the Sultān; to regulate court ceremonies, to act as the Sultān's envoy-extra-ordinary,[2] as conveyers of Farmāns, conduct distinguished foreign visitors to the King's Court, provide facilities for their journeys and perhaps keep the accounts of domestic establishment as well. We do not definitely know if there was a Chief Ḥājib, the Ḥājib-ul-Ḥujjāb, or the (A) Mīr-i-Ḥājib but as we come across six Ḥājibs, (Ḥājib-i-K̲h̲āṣ), in the Court of Sikandar Lodī the presumption is in favour of the inference that different Ḥājibs were entrusted with different personal duties of the Sultān. The Bārbak, or the Grand Usher, announced the arrival of the Sultān and summoned those present in the public audience hall to maintain order.

The Hajib.

The Barbak.

K̲h̲āssa-K̲h̲ail,[3] (Sar-i) K̲h̲āssa K̲h̲ail was the Officer-in-Chief of the King's Cavalry Regiments : (Sar-i) Jāndār, was the Officer-in-Charge of the small retinue of the King's mounted Bodyguard, who potected the person of the King

Jandar.

(1) Yādgār, Buhār 32.

(2) Cf. Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī sent his Private Chamberlain, Qāẓī Majduddīn with his farmān to win over the Jaunpūr officials and nobles and detatch them from the cause of his brother, Jalāl K̲h̲ān.

(3) Cf. Dāūd K̲h̲ān, the K̲h̲āssa K̲h̲ail of Sultān Ibrāhīm fighting Bābar in Hiṣār Fīrūza.

whenever he rode out or held court. There used to be generally two companies of Jāndārs of the right and left sides respectively. Every Sarkar Governor or big Jāgirdār had his own Jāndār.[1]

The Muḥtaṣib was the Censor of Public Morals and the Overseer of Markets. His duties were to prevent commissions of acts forbidden by the Shariat--to see that prayers were offered, and innovations avoided, to demolish gambling dens and distilleries, prevent indecent acts in public and visits to undesirable quarters, improper weights and measures, watch that the commodities were sold at the prices fixed, prevent counterfeiting of coins, encroachment of private houses or markets on public roads, forbid public sale of wine, prevent usurious transactions, protect slaves and beasts of burdern from the oppression of their masters and find suitable husband for widows.[2] He also acted as a Judge if the guilty party consented to repair the wrong by paying fines etc. and in case of his refusal, hand him over to the court of law.[3]

The Muhtasib.

(1) Cf. Iqbāl Khān s/o 'Aẓam Humāyūn Khān Sherwāni, governor of Kaṛa Pargana.

(2) Cf. Kremer, Tr. by Khudā Bakhsh, Orient Under the Caliphs 292-294.

(3) *Ibid.* In the Lodī period, the post of the Muḥtaṣib seems to have been merged with that of the Qāẓī for, in connection with Chaitanya or Nānak's biography or in Kabīr's trenchant invectives against Muslim orthodoxy, the Qāẓī is always mentioned, not the Muhtasib.

The Amīr-i-Kohī or the Minister of Agriculture and Public Works was an important officer till the reign of the Sayyid Kings.[1] Created during famine to promote agriculture, by Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq, it remained a permanent institution and must have existed during the time of the Lodī kings. The Amīr-i-Kohi also looked after the construction and maintenance of big canals, and acqueducts, construction of small canals being left to the local authorities. He encouraged agriculture by reclamation of waste lands and administered relief when crops failed by advancing cash loans or seed grain.

The Amir-i-Kohi.

The other officers who did not wield considerable influence in the court were—the Akhūr Beg or the Amīr-i-Akhūr in charge of Royal Stables; the Shaḥna-i-Pīl, the Superintendent of Royal Elephants; Silaḥdār or the Sar-i-Silāḥdār was the King's chief Armour-bearer; the Mīr-i-'Imārat was the Superintendent of the Royal Buildings; the Mir-i-Shikār or Shikār Beg in charge of Royal Hunts; the Dawāt-dār was the King's Ink-stand bearer and the keeper of Royal seals; the Qurān Khwān was the Royal elocutioner. The Kitābdār was in charge of the Royal Library and read out books to the Sultān. The Jamahdār was the King's Wardrobe-keeper.

The Munajjam or the court astrologer, was always consulted to select an auspicious hour for

(1) Sul 'Alāuddin left one of his brothers-in-law, as the Amīr-i-Kohī at Delhi before shifting to Badāūn in 851 H/1447. Tab. I, 293.

the king's coronation[1] and undertaking of campaigns and to prophesy the chances of war. Under the Lodī Sultān the office was generally held by Hindū Brahmans.[2]

The harem was guarded inside by female dāroghas, and armed eunuchs under a chief eunuch, the Sara-Pardahdār outside the harem and regular soldiers outside the palace gates. An office bearing this designation kept custody of the king's camp and tents during the rule of Sayyid kings. There was a separate account's office inside the harem managed by female clerks.

The different royal workshops (kārkhānas) including the mint, worked under dāroghas, the entire establishment being supervised by an officer of the Dīwān. We do not hear of the Mīr-i-Sāmān or Khān-i-Sāmān and 'Amīr-i-Ghilmān, the head of the department of the Bandigān-i-Khās (Slaves). The admiralty department played a minor part and was serviceable for the transport of troops and their baggage and war materials and for throwing of bridges across rivers.

B. The Provincial Government.

The administrative system of the Sultanate had totally collapsed under the later Tughlaqs following the chaos that prevailed in the country after Timūr's invasion, and the Sayyid rulers made an honest attempt to restore it. Not only had the Sultanate suffered in territory and resources by the

(1) Of. Bahlul and Ibrāhīm.
(2) Ni'matullah Makhzan, M. U. Ms. 80.

independence of Bengal, Jaunpūr, Mālwa and Gujrāt but within its dwindled limit the authority of the central government had almost been reduced to nullity. The crown-lands suffered considerable diminution in extent and resource by the reckless creation of fiefs, the 'Iqta's' whose holders the 'Maqta's' or 'Amīrs' ruled over their fiefs like independent princes bidding defiance to their overlord with impunity and constantly straining his energy and resources in effecting their submission, which was never final even when success had attended the arms of the overlord. Under such circumstances elements of an orderly government which could hardly be expected to exist took refuge in the strong and virile Provincial kingdoms. In the territory ruled by Delhi we hear of the Vilāyats, possibly Sarkārs, of Etāwah, Bayāna, Lāhore and Multān. The smaller sub-divisions of territory were the Khiṭṭa, the Ursa, and the Shiqq under a Shiqqdār but the Shiqqs were more often a collection of Parganas.[1] Thus the Middle Doāb—the Miān-Doāb[2] which was a Sarkār during the Lodī, Surī and Mughal periods, was a Ṣhiqq; the area from Ghaznī to the limits of Multān formed a 'Shiqq'[3] there were the Shiqqs of Ḥiṣār Fīrūza, Sambhal,

(1) Tār. Mub. Shāhī, 237.

(2) This area corresponds roughly to one from the eastern limit of Hiṣār Fīrūza upto the western limits of Aligaṛh district, and should never be confounded with the Doāb, a natural pitfall which is consequential from the wrong nomenclature given to it even by some research scholars.

(3) Tār. Mub. Shāhī p.127.

Kol (Aligaṛh) Bayāna and Badāūn etc., with probably smaller areas. The governors of these Shiqqs were known as Shiqqdār but the governor of the Miān-i-Doāb Shiqq was called 'Fauj-dār', or Military Collector, the chief military and executive officer, whose functions resembled those of the Mug͟hal Faujdār,[1] the highest local governorship in those days in view of the importance of the tract containing the seat of kingdom and the artery of communication with the eastern districts but more perhaps of its being a crown-land and the only part over which the Sultān ruled with a semblance of authority. We hear of the Miān-i-Doāb Shiqq, being conferred on Daulat K͟hāṇ Lodī (who later ascended the throne) by Maḥmūd Tug͟hlaq and on Ik͟htiyār K͟hān by K͟hiẓr K͟hān. The Vilāyats were no doubt Sarkārs under the charge of Wālīs, Hākims or Nāibs,[2] who were more often eclipsed by the more powerful jāgīrdārs who sometimes held several Parganas in fiefs. It was Sikandar Lodī who revived the provincial administration by a thorough reshuffling of the old boundaries. A beginning was made by his father who appointed Shiqqdārs in each of the Parganas conquered by him but left the old administrative divisions almost in tact in the parts not restored by arms. We hear of the Sarkārs of Sambhal, Etāwah, and Lāhore during his time no doubt but his policy of

(1) *Vide* J.N. Sarkar's Mug͟hal Administration, p.45, 1920 Edition.

(2) Tabaqat I, pp. 258, 261, 263, 269, 273, 274, 302, 309, 313, 314, 322.

granting fiefs and creating appanages for his sons and relatives negatived the step towards an orderly and centralised government. It was not till the dissolution of those appanages, the submission of the recalcitrant governors and the final annexation of the kingdom of Jaunpūr that a systematised government evolved. This system of government through Sarkārs and Parganas was a legacy of the Sayyid to the Lodīs and remained in existence during the rule of the Mughals and the Sūris.

The whole kingdom was divided into Sarkārs roughly corresponding to 'divisions' of British India, an area certainly bigger than the present districts. A full skeleton of the provincial administration is contained in a single sentence of Ni'matulla in connection with the foundation of 'Āgra.[1] This is the passage. "Thus in the villages of Bashī and Poyā in the Parganā of Dolī (Deoli), Bayāna Sarkār, the city was built and 9 Parganas out of a total of fifty-two from the Bayāna Sarkār were included in it (*i.e.* Sarkār of Āgra)." In his Memoirs Bābar gives a full account of the Sarkārs together with the revenue derived from them. There were altogether 32 Sarkārs[2] during the earlier part of the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodī. The Sarkārs were as follows :—

1. Sirhind.
2. Ḥiṣār Fīrūza.
3. Delhi and the Miān-i-Doāb.

(1) Makhzan M.U.Ms. 100.

(2) Nos. Ito 26 Sarkārs were held by Bābar in 1528 A.D.

4 The Trans-Sutlej Sarkār with Bhera, Lāhore, Siālkot and Dipālpūr.[1]
5. Malot.
6. Bayāna.
7. Āgra.
8. Gwālior (after its annexation by Sul Ibrāhīm).
9. The Miān-i-Vilāyat, the Midlands (Etāwah).
10. Kālpi and Sihonda (modern Banda District), Riwa.
11. Qanauj.
12. Sambhal.
13. Lucknow and Buxar (Unāo dist.)
14. Ḵẖairabād.
15. Oudh and Bahrāich.
16. Jaunpūr.
17. Kaṛa and Mānikpūr.
18. Sarwar (Gorakhpūr).
19. Behār.
20. Sāran.
21. Champāran.
22. Kāndla.
23. Tirhūt.
24. Ranthambhor.
25. Nagore.
26. Kālanjar.
27. Sui Supar (in the present Gwalior state).[2]
28. Chanderī (a protectorate under Sikandar and annexed by Ibrāhīm).

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(1) The biggest Sarkār in area, and included the hill tracts as well, Cf. Tab. Akb. III, p.449, in Bahluḷ's time.

(2) Ferishta I, 185 and 186; 'Abdullah, Elliot IV, 466.

29. Narwar (annexed by Sikandar).
30. Meerut.[1]
31. Mandlaer (Modern Karauli State).
32. Kaṭher (Rohilkhand[2]).

These divisions were also loosely termed as Vilāyats, a nomenclature frequently used to designate the independent tracts like Gujrāt and Mālwa and their administrators as Hākims (a loose title also used to designate the pargana executive head) or Wālī.[3] The real title of the Sarkār Governors was Nāib, an abbreviation of the Nāib-i-Sultān, the Deputy or the Vicegerent of the Sultān.[4]

The Governors of Oudh, Sāran, Chanderi and Kaṭher (Rohilkhand) were designated as Ẓābits, due probably to the presence of the zamīndārs and also the location of those tracts in the frontiers necessitating the keeping of military garrisons. Almost all governors of the Sarkārs were big Afghān nobles holding 'Manṣab' or military ranks as commanders of so many cavalry troopers which determined their pay.

The Sarkār government was a miniature of the central government. The 'Nāibs' or the Sarkār governors were the executive head of the Sarkār, whose duties were to supervise the pargana Shiqqdārs, enforce the farmans of the Sultān, maintain army and render armed

Functions of the Naibs.

(1) 'Abbās, Elliot IV, 332; Badāuni I, 309.
(2) Makhzan, M.U.Ms. 107.
(3) Yādgār, Buhār 28.
(4) *Vide* Ferishta I, Lucknow 179; Bāburnāma Mrs. Bev. II, 582, 662.

help to the Sultān when he required such help, suppress rebellions within his jurisdiction, settle boundary disputes between the parganas, impart justice with appellate jurisdiction from the decision of the Qāẓīs and act as a court in the first instance; and see that taxes prescribed by religious law were levied with justice, and watch that criminal justice was administered with fairness.[1]

He had no jurisdiction over the revenue except offering facilities for collection and the smooth working of the administration, nor over the appointment or dismissal of Shiqqdārs and Dīwāns under his jurisdiction.

The Sarkar Treasury.

The revenue administration in the Sarkār was in charge of the Dīwān who was not the governor's subordinate but each possessed supreme jurisdiction under his respective sphere of activity and each watching the conduct of the other. The Dīwān of the Sarkār was appointed by the central government, rather by the Sultāns themselves and they directly transmitted the revenue or an estimate of it to the central exchequer. The Dīwān was essentially a servant of the king.

Bābar who took up in toto the administration system of the Lodī Sultāns, entrusted the Dīwān of Bihār to Murshid Irāqi, one of his generals[2] and the Dīwāni of the Delhi Sarkār on Muhammad Dost.[3] The Dīwān of the Sarkārs had supervisory

(1) Kremer Tr. by Khuda Bakhsh, The Orient under the Caliphs p.275.

(2) Bāburnāma II, 662.

(3) Bāburnāma Mrs. Bev. II, 476.

jurisdiction over the pargana revenue officers and scrutinised the accounts of the pargana treasuries to prevent embezzlement or fraud. Connected with the Sarkār Dīwān were his subordinates, the Mushrif (the Accountant); the Mustaufi (the Auditor) and an army of clerks.

Other Sarkār officials were the Bak͟h͟shī the Pay Master of the forces, the Qāẓī, the judge of criminal law, the Kotwāl, the Superintendent of city-police, the Muḥtaṣib, the Censor of Public Morals and Over-seer of Market-places. The Sarkār government thus was complete in itself.

We have seen that a start in making the Pargana as the unit of administration was made by Bahlul and completed by Sikandar Lodī. The Shiqq or the Pargana was a fiscal unit and consisted of a number of villages, and its governor was termed the Shiqqdār.[1] He was the executive head of his jurisdiction, the head of the army, and a governor within a restricted area. He was the head of the Pargana police, had to maintain law and order, punish brigandage and crime, suppress small rebellions.[2] promote cultivation and render help in the collection of land revenue. The Shiqqdār also maintained an army and had his jāgīr for its maintenance. The other Pargana officials were.

The Pargana government.

(1) Sarkār, Chaitanya p.232; Bāburnāma Mrs. Bev., 476.

(2) Under Ibrāhīm Lodī's reign the Shiqqdār of Jalāli died fighting against Manchand, a Rajpūt Zamindār of Jatrauli.

1. The 'Āmil the Collector of Revenue who had dealings with the central or provincial Dīwān.
2. The Fotadār or Khazānchī, the treasurer of the Pargana.
3. The Dārogha or the Superintendent of the Treasury. It appears that the Dārogha performed the same duty as the Mushrif in the capital or in the Sarkārs.[1]
4. The Kārkun or the clerk. The other petty pargana officers were the Amīn, the Qānūngo, the Munṣif, the Thānadār, and the Patwāri.[2] Almost every big Pargana town had its own Qāẓī.

The village autonomy was left untouched. The village Panchayats or caste-courts disposed of local cases through boards of arbitration imposing fines in civil and criminal cases of less serious nature. Though no court fee was demanded and justice was very prompt, the villagers preferred to refer their cases to the caste-courts on account of the distance that separated their area from the court of the Qāẓī in the city and also because they required some chips to grease the palm of the underlings of a regular court. In addition to these there were the courts of the zamindārs open to their tenants. The link that connected the central with the local governments was the institution of espionage working with terrible efficiency and it was from

(1) Makhzan M.U.Ms. 92.

(2) For full details *vide* Section D. on Revenue Administration.

Delhi or Āgra that the ruler could feel the pulse of his empire each morning and evening.

C. Police and Military Organization.

The Metropolitan Police was under the Shaḥna or the Kotwāl and almost every town in the kingdom had one. The Kotwālship of Āgra was considered as honourable as the governorship of a Sarkār and there are instances of Kotwāls being appointed as Wazīrs.[1] Sul. 'Alāuddin ('Ālam Shāh) had conferred the Kotwālship of Delhi (the capital city) on one of his brothersin-law before permanently shifting to Badāun in 851 A.H. The duties of the Kotwāl have been admirably put down by Sir J.N. Sarkar in his Mughal Administration.[2] He was entitled to attend court when the sovereign or the provincial governor held a court of justice or gave Public Audience. His chief function was to mainta-in peace and tranquility in the city by preventing theft, robbery and breach of the law in the municipal area ; investigate crime or procure the arrest of a criminal evading justice.[3] These things he did through secret reports gathered from his spies and subordinates, and himself parading the streets of the city during late hours of the night and arresting criminals and suspects and keeping a close watch on every new arrival into the city. It was also his duty to release prisoners who were innocent and

The Kotwal.

(1) Tār. Mub. Shāhī p. 199.

(2) Pp. 47-49, 1920 edition.

(3) Ni'matullah, Makhzan, p.100.

bring the guilty before the court of the criminal law (Qāẓī), to keep political prisoners in custody and execute the sentence of death passed by the King[1] or the Qāẓī. The Kotwāl was essentially an urban officer with jurisdiction confined to the city area.

Local and rural police.

In smaller cities and important rural areas there were thānas, *i.e.* police pickets or posts under a 'Thānadār' who not only maintained peace and order but also helped in the realization of revenue when such help was needed. These thānadārs were under the control of the Shiqqdār of the pargana in which the thānā was situated. Sikandar Lodī after the suppression of the Bhadauriyas of Hatkānt in 914/1508, established thānās at different places from Hatkānt to Āgra.[2] The duty of policing the rural areas devolved on the village chaukidārs "who were servants of the village community and maintained by the villagers themselves out of the village land and who were not considered as officers paid and supervised by the state.[3]

Disturbed areas were given to the Pathan chiefs who with their retinue restored law and order over their Jurisdiction. The Doāb was given to the Sherwāni nobles whose descendants till recently held jāgīrs in Āligaṛh District.

(1) Muḥammad Shāh Sharqi in 861H gave orders from Etāwah to the Kotwāl of Jaunpūr to execute his brother Pr. Ḥasan Khān and Quṭb Khān Lodī, the latter prisoner of war.

(2) Tāb. Akb. I. p.330.

(3) Sarkār Mughal Administration, p.8, 1920 Edition.

The army consisted of regular recruits maintained by the Sultān at state expense and with jāgīrs, and irregulars supplied by the governors and jāgīrdārs and nobles and equipped and paid by them. The regular army consisted of the Afghāns of the various tribes, Rājpūts,[1] Miwātīs, with a contingent of Mughals in the personal service of the Sultān and the princes. The army was raised by the 'Chief Bakhshī' (Bakhshī-i Mamalik) whose position was like that of the Minister of War, assisted by his Deputy. He also played a double role as the pay-master of the forces, in which capacity he was a civil officer of the crown. Sikandar Lodī followed the practice of granting jāgīrs to soldiers and asked them to have their horses and arms from their jāgīrs. The regular army consisted of elephants, cavalry, foot, match-lock-bearers, archers and artillery men, and in times of war served under a commander-in-chief, who was the principal war councillor when the King was personally present in the field. Thus Quṭb Khān Lodī was Bahlul's Commander-in-chief; Miān Ma'rūf bore that office for 30 years during the reign of Sultān Sikandar and Ibrāhīm, and 'Āẓam Humāyūn Khān Sherwāni that of Sultān Ibrāhīm. The holder of this office was known as the Amīr-ul-umara.

The army.

The regulars.

The officer over ten soldiers was known as Mīr-i-Daha or Mīr Daha,[2] of 100 a Ṣadah, of 1,000

(1) Bahlul was served by three Rājpūt generals. Even the orthodox Sikandar had Rāi Jigar Sen Kachhwāha.

(2) A designation still attached to the names of many Bengali families and corrupted into 'Mirdhā,' 'Mridhā.'

a Hazāri. It is difficult to give in figure the idea of the Sultān's standing army. Islām K͟hān Lodī, the uncle of Bahlul and governor of Sirhind had 12 thousand Afg͟hān and Mug͟hal soldiers. Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī commanded about 100,000 soldiers at Pānipat, consisting of regulars and feudal militia. The standing army of the Sultān does not seem to have been very much above 50 thousand. We do not know if branding was re-introduced by the Lodī Sultāns to prevent fraudulent musters. Sikandar Lodī himself inspected recruits for determining their status and pay. A low born man had no chance of entering his service.

The feudal army.

But the major portion of the army consisted of feudal militia. Each local governor and jāgīrdār (which included many of the court-nobles) was expected to keep a contingent of cavalry according to his rank or 'manṣab' which determined his pay. Daryā K͟hān Lohāni, governor of Bihār Sarkār, Naṣīr K͟hān Lohāni, governor of G͟hāzipūr (Sarkār) and Shaik͟hzāda Muḥammad Qurbān Farmali, governor of Oudh (Sarkār) held manṣabs of 30/40 thousand; 'Aẓam Humāyūn Sherwāni governor of Kālpi Sarkār of 12 thousand,[1] Bhikhan K͟hān of 7 thousand.[2] The provincial governors were paid salary out of the Sarkār exchequer, according to their military rank. The entire army received a share of the war-booty and was dissolved as soon as the campaign was over,

(1) Yādgār, Buhār 156.

(2) *Ibid* p.42.

or so soon as the king permitted them to go.[1] The concentration of military strength in the hands of jagīrdārs and governors was a source of weakness rather than of strength to the state and brought into existence a constant tug-of-war between the centrifugal and centripetal forces, which bore its worst fruit during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī.

The mobilization order was given by the pitching of red tents and beating of drums. On the march, an advance party led the way and after halt at night-fall, the army camps assumed the proportions of a city. The baggage and stores and tent and the female members of the Sultān's family remained in the rear and provisions of grain were supplied through the itinerant grain merchants—the 'banjāras'.[2]

Strategy and battle formation.

The battle formation consisted of the traditional five-fold divisions—the vanguard, the right, the left, the centre and the rear. Sometimes different Afghān tribes took their position in the right, left or centre and the entire army was commanded by the commander-in-chief.[3] The main instrument of attack and defence consisted of the cavalry and elephants bearing archers, artillery being poor and slow in those days. The commander-in-chief or the Sultān took his position in the centre, seated on an elephant which very often became the target of

(1) Ferishta I, Lucknow 183.

(2) *Vide* Chap. V, p.85 f.n. 2.

(3) *Vide* account of the battle of Jaund Chap. IV, p.67.

attack and whose flight, disability or death decided the chances of war. In a siege, the catapult, the ballista were used for throwing stones and rockets; match-locks, mortars, artillery and gunpowder for battering walls. The implements of war, the military tactics and training did not keep pace with improved human devices and its hollowness was demonstrated when 12 thousand Mug͟hals beat 100,000 Indians.

The war was generally begun with a skirmish, the parties retiring for rest and recuperation during nights, but night attack was always conceived of as a very effective method of probing the enemy strength. The practice of taking hostages was very common and prisoners of war especially the higher commands were well-treated. Quṭb K͟hān Lodī a prisoner in Jaunpūr was looked after by Bībī Rājī, the mother of Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī. Bahlul once conveyed to her husband Bībī Malka Jahān, the wife of Ḥusain Shāh taken captive in war. The only instance of violation of the immunity of an envoy we come across when Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī imprisoned Bābar's envoy sent to Āgra after the capture of Lāhore.

D. Land Revenue Administration.

The sources of revenue of the state were :— (1) K͟harāj—land tax; (2) Zakāt and Ṣadaqa *i.e.* tithe; (3) K͟hams *i.e.* a fifth of the war-booty, produce of minerals and pastures; (4) Jizya *i.e.* the capitation tax taken from the non-Muslims in lieu of military service; (5) Tribute from the vassal Rājahs and Rāis; (6) Import dues;

Sources of revenue.

and (7) Excise, market dues, market rents besides a host of the time-honoured Abwābs or illegal cesses.

The Zakāt on surplus field produce, cattle, hoards, gold and silver was levied according to the schedule laid down by Islam.[1] In those days when soldiership was regarded as an honourable profession and soldiers were mostly paid in jāgīrs, war-booty was a great attraction. Bahlul had invited greedy adventurers from Roh to India and divided the war-booty among the soldiers and the practice was continued by his successors. Import dues appear to be scanty and applied to land-trade as no part of the empire touched the sea.

Lands according to tenure, consisted of three chief divisions. (1) The crown-lands, (2) Lands held in jāgīr and (3) rent-free lands, bequeathed in heredity for charitable endowments *i.e.* held in Madad-i-M'āsh, Aima, or Sayūrghāl tenure. The rent-free lands had increased out of proportion during this period due to the charity of the Lodī rulers. There are instances of a whole pargana being given in Madad-i-M'āsh.[2] It was the crown-land which was the subject of revenue regulation for the jāgīrdārs and zamīndārs paid a fixed rent to the state in a lump sum irrespective of what was raised from the soil. Sikandar Lodī did not increase the revenue payable by the jāgīrdārs and zamīndārs even when

(1) The Jurists of Islām differ as to the items under this tax.

(2) Cf. Tab. Akb. I, 332. The bestowal of Indri Pargana on Miān Sulaimān Farmali.

the soil yielded a higher revenue in subsequent years.[1] Every soldier, officers of the revenue department and almost all governors of the Sarkārs and parganas, (mostly Afg͟hāns except in the lower rung of the revenue administration) held a jāgīr to cover their pay. Bahlul Lodī had created appanages for his sons and kinsmen in addition to the jāgīrs. But Sikandar Lodī not only dissolved the appanages, but was conscious of the evil emanating from the transfer of land and power in the hands of big jāgīrdārs and very often granted jāgīrs in scattered places.[2] His last experiment with a big jāgīr ended when he twice deprived his kinsman Jalāl K͟hān Lodī, s/o Maḥmūd K͟hān Lodī of his jāgīr of the entire Sarkār of Kālpi. Ibrāhīm Lodi, in his eagerness to crush his brother Jalāl K͟hān, had increased the jāgīrs in number and extent and the unsettled condition of the kingdom during the later years of his reign had the effect of reducing northern India to the condition not very much dissimilar to that prevailing in the later Tug͟hlaq and Sayyid periods when Maqt'as and Amīrs held Iqta's (fiefs) in heredity and bade defiance to the central government. The jāgīrs were not in essence hereditary but held for life, if their recipients had not previously been dispossessed by the Sultān. Sikandar Lodī followed the practice of continually depriving jāgīrdārs of their jāgīrs for misbehaviour and shifting them from place to place.

Jagir Tenure.

(1) Tār. Dāūdi Elliot IV, 453.

(2) Cf. Tab. Akb. I, 316; 324.

It is difficult to definitely determine what system was followed with regard to the assessment and collection of revenue from the crown-lands (Khaliṣa). But it will not be out of place to point out that the revenue regulations of Akbar in principle, if not in detail, were a codification of the customs and practices then in existence, and the officials and their functions were not very much different during the time of the Lodīs.

System of assessment and collection.

The unit of revenue administration was the Pargana, a collection of villages. The following were the revenue officers of the Pargana :—

1. The 'Āmil, the 'Amaldār, the 'Amal-guzār-*i.e.* the Collector.[1]
2. The Fotadār, the Tahvīldār, the Khāzin or the Khāzānchī *i.e.* the Treasurer.
3. The Dārogha of the Treasury,[2] Kārkun (the clerk) in addition to minor clerks.
4. The Amīn or the Surveyer of the land.
5. The Qānūngo, an hereditary officer familiar with the customs of land tenures.
6. The Thānadār, the 'Munsif, the Jarībkash (the chain-holder)[3] the Zābit;[4] the Patwāri or

(1) Āīn Delhi Text 231.

(2) When Sikandar Lodī re-instated Bārbak Shāh on the throne of Jaunpūr, he appointed a Shiqqdār and a Dārogha in each pargana. The Dārogha evidently was the Dārogha-i-Khazāna or the Superintendent of the treasury. Cf. Makhzan M.U.Ms. 92.

(3) See Aīn Persian Text, Delhi Pub. p.230.

(4) *Ibid.*

the land-steward; the Muqaddam, the village head-man and the Chaudhry.[1]

The 'Āmil was the collector of the Pargana as Shiqqdār was the magistrate. The 'Āmil was supreme in his sphere and was under the control and supervision of the Dīwān of the Sarkār in which the Pargana was situated. The collected tax was put in the strong-room of the Pargana treasury and remitted to the Sarkār treasury whereupon it was forwarded to the central treasury. During the Lodī period we do not hear of any 'Āmil of a pargana being directly appointed by the central government, nor was it judicious in those days of bad communication, except the 'Amaldār of Āgra[2] who was regarded as an officer of considerable importance beacause of the capital city being the head-quarters of the 'Āmil. The 'Āmil was an officer with a dual capacity, 'a friend of the agriculturist', and at the same time, "a representative of the Lord Paramount,"[3] and an intermediary between the state and the peasantry. Essentially his duties were to see that the assessed tax had been collected, that there was no fraud in the preparation of the revenue registers by the 'muqaddams' and the schedule of the area under cultivation, and at the same time encourage cultivation

The Amil and his functions.

(1) Bābar imposed a punitive tax on the Chaudhries of Bhera in connexion with his third Indian expedition 1519. Cf. Bāburnāma I; Mrs. Bev. p.383.

(2) Ṣafdar Khān the 'Amaldār of Āgra was appointed by Sultān Sikandar Lodī in 906 H.

(3) Āīn, IV, Jarr. II, p.43.

by timely remission and advancement of loans, and promote the cultivation of waste lands. In his duties of determining the state dues from the peasants, and checking the memorandum prepared by the Muqaddams, he was to be assisted by clerks (Kārkuns) who kept all records of the area under cultivation and the amount of yield, of the cultivator individually and the village collectively, and hand over money to the K̲h̲azānchi, who kept a regular account of the money received in the treasury with the cognizance and signature of the 'Āmil and Shiqqdār and gave receipts for all payments to the cultivators. The 'Āmil exercised a general supervision over all assessment and collection of all taxes in the Pargana including the Jizya.[1] In view of the multifarious duties imposed on the 'Āmil,[2] it appears that he was more an officer connected with the examination and verification of records and realization of rents and taxes. The Dārog̲h̲a of the treasury, who was an assistant to the Treasurer during the time of Akbar,[3] appears to have been under the Lodīs, the auditor of the treasury and essentially a crown officer to prevent defalcation. The Qānūngo, "a walking dictionary" "received reports from the Patwāris (land stewards) of new cases of alluvion and deluvion, sales, leases,

(1) Cf. Akbar's regulation V, Āīn.II, Jarr. p.43. ff.

(2) Dr. I. H. Qureshi (Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi p. 196), quoting Barni identifies him with Mutaṣarrif, appointed by Muḥd. Tug̲h̲laq in the Deccan Provinces.

(3) Cf. Regulation II, Āīn I, Blockmann p.14.

gifts of land etc." which "entailed change in the register of mutations.[1] The Amīn's duties seem to be to measure the land. The Patwāris, the Muqaddams and the Chaudhris occupied the lowest rung in revenue administration, though the most directly concerned with land-revenue assessment. The Patwāri kept a record of the cultivators and their arable lands. The Muqaddam realised the taxes and received a percentage of the revenue realised, in cash or kind.

The other item of revenue was derived from tributes from Rājas and big zamīndārs. Sikandar even farmed the revenue of the kingdom of Jaunpūr to Mubārak K͟hān Lohāni, whom he made to pay the arrears of revenue "according to the settlement with the king." This exeperiment he gave up when he regularised provincial administration of Jaunpūr in accordance with his system.

There is good reason to presume that Sultān Sikandar Lodi introduced a land survey through a uniform land-measure 'the Sikandari gaz,'[2] with a full paraphernalia for its working. In a dialogue between the Sultān and Miān Bhoa the Chief Wazīr,[3] the latter suggested in reply to the Sultān's inquisitive enquiry as to the methods of eradicating corruption that the only effective remedy consisted

(1) Wilson's Glossaries quoted by Jarrett.

(2) Cf. Āīn, Jarr. II, p.61 equivalent to the breadth of 41½ Sikandaris *i.e.* a mixed coin of copper and silver, which measure remained in vogue till the 31st year of Akbar's reign.

(3) Tab. Akb. I, p.340.

in the measuring chain (Jarīb) being held at one end by a trusty servant of the Sultān and the other by the Wazīr. This is a conclusive proof that the Sultān Sikandar "that unacknowledged contributor to the efficiency of all later Indian revenue systems",[1] introduced a standard chain for land measure and survey, which takes into account the nature of the soil, before fixing a rate.

System of taxation.

We do not know what the quota of state demand was, nor is it safe to give a figure by guess in view of the wide latitude given by the doctors of law. The old traditional Islamic principle of assessing land tax with an eye to the fertility of the soil and facilities of irrigation must have been followed. The system of assessment consisted of (1) assessing a fixed amount of land tax payable in money or kind (the Muḥāsiba) (2) Division of the actual yield of the soil (*i.e.* the baṭāi system, the Muqāsima) when reaped or harvested in heaps, or demarcated in the field when the crop was still standing. Small officers—the Zābit, the Writer, the Amīn, the Qānūngo, the Patwāris and the Muqaddams and the Thānadārs received a percentage of the revenue collected for the discharge of their duties, as was the custom till the time when Akbar regulated their share of pay by his Āīns. The assessment was made twice a year—for the autumn and spring harvests and due receipts were given to the cultivators for the payment made and arrears of revenue or takavi loans were

(1) Thomas, Revenue Resources of the Mughal empire, p. 3.

kept off to be realised during the next harvest. Up to the beginning of the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī revenue was paid in cash or kind but Ibrāhīm Lodī stopped all cash-payment by a 'farmān' for all lands including those held in jāgīr, and levied no tax on the produce of the soil except corn.[1] Thus fruit-bearing trees, minerals and wood were exempted from direct tax.

We do not know what effective measures were adopled for combating famines caused by the failure of crops. In 901 H/1496, when a famine broke out in the empire, Sikandar Lodī stopped by a 'farmān' the levying of Zakāt in corn probably to facilitate the smooth working of the schedule of rates and prevent hardship at the same time.

Total revenue.

We are in possession of the most authentic account of the total revenue of the state during the Lodī rule from the Memoirs of Bābar.[2] "The revenue of the country" remarks Bābar "now (935/1528) held by me from Bhera to Bihār is 52 krors of tankas" (estimated by Erskine at £ 4,212,000), but money had at least 15/20 times the purchasing power which it has today because of the ludicrous cheapness of commodities in those days. "8/9 krors", he continues, "of this are from the parganas and 'rāis' and rājahs, who as obedient from of old, receive allowances and maintenance." It must be borne in mind that in the hey-day of Lodī rule, the revenue was considerably large because the kingdom was larger in extent and in-

(1) Tār. Dāūdi Bānkīpore p.223.
(2) Cf. Mrs. Bev. Bāburnāma II, p.520-1.

cluded parganas and Sarkārs coveted by Rāna Sānga and till then forming part of the tottering Mālwa kingdom. The chart given in Bāburnāma—with the name of the Sarkārs or feudatory chiefs and the amount of revenue derived from these, is not complete and abounds in gaps probably due to the failure of Bābar to supply an authentic statistics. An idea of the revenue of a pargana may be had in Bābar's occasional references. He bestowed a pargana with 7 lacs (of dams)[1] on the mother of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī;[2] Kanauj to Muḥd Sulṭān Mirzā with a revenue of 30 lacs in lieu of the 15 lacs of Sirhind;[3] gave Muḥd Zamān Mirzā Behār, reserving 1 Kror and 25 lacs for the royal treasury[4] and again in 1529 he bestowed 50 lacs from Behār on Maḥmūd K͟hān Nuhāni after reserving 1 Kror for the K͟hāliṣa; and bestowed the pargana of Nārnaul worth 30 lacs.[5] Bābar granted the village of Manchharkhel in Batāla Pargana and to Qāẓi Jalāl in Sayurg͟hāl for six years, the total register of which amounted to 5,000 black tankas. (tanka-i Siyāh), C/f Farmān of Bābar Ziqadh 933/ July 1527. Epigraphia Indica, Vol.II, 1893, 480.

All historians not only harp on the peace and prosperity of India during Lodī rule but also on

(1) May be Bahluli, a billon coin nicknamed the 'black tankah' 7/8 of which went to make a silver rupee.

(2) Cf. Bāburnāma, Mrs. Bev. p.478.

(3) *Ibid* p. 582.

(4) *Ibid* p. 629.

(5) *Ibid* p. 677.

Cheapness of commodities.

the unprecedented cheapness of commodities caused probably by the dearth of gold and silver, re-inforced by the concealment of coins in view of the rebellions and insecurity prevailing from the beginning of Sultān Ibrāhīm's reign. A passage from 'Abdullah's Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi[1] is worth quoting. "One of the wonders of the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm was that corn and cloth and all commodities became so cheap that they were never so at any other time. The cheapness of Sultān Ibrāhīm's reign was a gift from the heavens. Although during the reign of (Sultān) Sikandar, there was cheapness, yet it was not to an extent as was during Sultān Ibrāhīm's reign. It is said that for one Bahluli,[2] 10 maunds of corn and 5 seers of ghee and 10 yards of cloth could be purchased and other commodities were cheap in like proportion. The cause of this cheapness was that, abundant rain fell and crops grew in luxuriance." The legislation of Sul Ibrāhīm prohibiting cash payment of revenue caused a glutting of corn, so that nobles and jāgīrdārs vied with each other in under-selling their corn with the result that "10 maunds of corn could be had for one Bahluli, but for this reason, gold and silver became scarce and a man with a monthly salary of 5 tankas could maintain himself with his family and dependants and a man with 23 tankas a month, could afford to ride, and one tanka was enough to defray the

(1) Bānkipore fol. 223.

(2) A mixed billon coin of silver and copper

expenses of a man riding from Delhi to Āgra with a horse and a servant, with ease."

Perhaps then too the cultivators were exploited by Zamindārs and Jāgīrdars. It was not by a magical wand (even allowing that the Jāgīr lands had increased with the increase of the King's territories) that the Jāgīrdārs and Zamindārs raised[1] nine lacs out of seven lacs of estimated revenue in the first year of Sikandar Lodī's reign, eleven in the second, 14 in the third[1] and at the same time the continuance of the 'abwāb' (Cesses) which could not be abolished by the Lodī rulers in spite of their best effort, must have affected the repose of the cultivators.

(1) Cf. Tār. Dāūdi Elliot IV, 453.

CHAPTER XII.

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1. Tārik̲h̲-i-Mubārak Shāhi (A.S.B. Publication, Bibliotheca Indica Series, Eng tr. by K.K. Basu; Gaekwar Oriental Series; Elliot Vol. IV p.6 ff) by Yaḥya bin Aḥmad b 'Abdullah, written with a view to extol his patron Mubārak Shāh, begins from the foundation of the G̲h̲ori dynasty and ends abruptly in 834 A.H/ 1430 *i.e.* the second year of Muḥammad Shāh' Sayyid's reign. It is the only contemporary work on the so-called Sayyid period. Niz̤āmuddīn, Ferishta and Bādāuni solely depended on it for the construction of the history of that period. It is very useful for tracing the rise of the Lodī Dynasty.

2. Bābur-nāma, Tūzak-i Bābari, or Waqi'āt-i Bābari (Pers tr by K̲h̲ān K̲h̲ānān 'Abdur-Rahīm in 998 H/1589; Eng trs by Erskine; by Mrs. Beveridge in two Vols; Elliot Vol. IV p.218 ff) is the earliest contemporary account of the later Lodī period. Penned as the Memoirs are by a man of learning and an accurate observer who participated in the events from the year of his accession to 1529 A.D. and frankly noted down his part, they are, in spite

of the numerous gaps that occur in them and mar their chronological value, our chief source to guide us through his relations with Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, and the final overthrow of the Paṭhāns in Behār, the conquest of India piecemeal, with a clear picture of the political, social, economic and intellectual condition of the country.

3. Tabaqat-i-Bābari by Shaikh Zain (Elliot IV p.288 ff; Mrs. Beveridge, Memoirs of Bābar II 559 ff), Bābar's Secretary who wrote partly from his personal observation, helps us with an account of the battle of Kānwa, 1527

4. Tārikh-i Rashīdī (tr by Elias and Ross London, 1895) by Mirza Muḥammad Ḥaidar Dughlat Kurkāni, a first cousin of Bābar and an equally learned and accomplished historian and observer, though indispensable for the early history of Bābar, his birth etc., and in filling the gaps in the Bābar-nāma and Humāyūn's struggle with Sher Shāh, does not help us much in the Lodī history. The book is divided into two parts.

5. Wāqi'āt-i Mushtāqi by RizqullahMushtāqi (1492-1580), a learned scholar and traveller, begins his work from Bahlul Lodī and ends with Muḥammad 'Adali including the provincial dynasties of Gujrāt and Mālwa. It was consulted by Niẓāmūddīn Aḥmad and is the earliest history of the Sūr and Lodī Paṭhāns. 'Abdullah seems to have extensively copied extracts, in his Tārikh-i Dāūdi. I could use only the extracts from Elliot (IV p.434 ff) in connexion with Wāqi'āt-i Mushtāqī.

6. Tārikh-i Alfi[1] (A.S.B. Cal, India Office, Nawwāb Bahādur of Murshidabād Estate Library, Murshidabād, Elliot Vol. V, 150 ff), begun in 993/1585 by a group of scholars (and finished in 1588/996), of whom Mulla Aḥmad of Tatta was the the principal contributor (other's being Naqib Khan, Badāūni, and Asaf Kh̲ān) is a universal history embodying the chronology of one thousand years of Islām, compiled under Akbar's patronage. It is named "the history of one thousand years" because Akbar was under the impression following Mahdavī preaching that Islām like all other religions was bound to decay after a thousand year's of its existence. Its dates are given in Riḥlat instead of in Hijri years and it covers acc to the author's introduction, three volumes. There are two sets of this work both nearly complete in Nawwāb Bahādur of Murshidabād's Library both covering four volumes.[2] Strictly speaking, it is a dry chronicle of events or elaborate time chart, scribbled in the style of the old Arab chronicles. Events taking place in one year in all Islāmic countries are narrated one after the other before history of the next year is taken up. The work runs through about six thousand closely written pages without any pause or mark of diversion. When narration of events in one country are jotted down, events happening in another country is related with a remark (as in Murshidabād Ms) "and other events of the same

(1) Brochure of Indian Historical Records Commission, Mysore 1942, p.108 ff.

(2) *Ibid* p. 111—112.

year." Events taking place in India occupy a small place necessarily. To a student of Indian History it is useful for correcting chronology, but it is really a herculean job to find from it matters appertaining to India. There are instances of confusion between Riḥlat and Hijrat dates.

7. Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Ṭabaqāt-i Akbar Shāhī, better-known among mediaeval historians as the Tārikh-i Niẓāmi (Lucknow Publications, Bibliotheca Indica Series in 3 Vols.; Eng tr by B. De; Elliot Vol. V p.177 ff) by Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, covers Indian history from the time of Sabuktagīn upto 1002 H/1593-4 *i.e.* the 38th year of Akbar's reign. It is the first real history of India to discuss Indian affairs exclusively and constitutes our main authority for the entire Lodī Period. Though not free from chronological errors, confusing solar with lunar dates, his work forms the basis of subsequent histories. Badāūnī, Ni'matullah, Ferishta, 'Abdullah, and 'Abdul Bāqi have acknowledged their indebtedness and have freely quoted its passages. Badāuni has been frank enough to admit that his Muntakhab is chiefly a summary of the Ṭabāqāt. Though easy and unpretentious in style, Niẓāmuddīn writes with a precision mingled with brevity which is peculiarly his own. It is entirely free from partiality, is rich in dates, and though the Lodī period was remote from his own by about a century, his accurate identification of place names is highly creditable.

There is a Ms of Ṭabaqāt in the Muslim University 'Aligharh Library (Subḥānullah Collection)

copied in 1003 H/1396 *i.e.* two years after the composition by its author, by one 'Abdul Ḥai Quraishī. It is one of the most beautiful Ms in Nastālīq, in the M.U. Lib. I used it to verify the place names and other doubtful words in the printed text.

8. Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh or Tārīkh-i Badāūnī (Bibliotheca Indica Series in three vols; Eng tr by Ranking, Lowe and Haig, Elliot Vol. V p.477 ff) is written by Mulla 'Abdul Qādir of Badāūn, a friend and contemporary of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad whose death he condoles in very touching terms, and a bitter hater of free thinkers like Abul Faẓl and Faiẓī. The Muntakhab was commenced in 1003 H/1596 A.D., the year of Niẓāmuddīn's death and finished in Jamadi II 1004, Feb. 23, 1596. It is a general history of India from the time of the Ghaznavids upto the 40th year of Akbar's reign, and contains useful matters relating to Akbar's religious policy from the orthodox point of view and free from fulsome adulation. So far as the Sayyid-Lodī period is concerned, it is a summary of Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhi and Tabaqāt-i Akbari. Yet it gives us new information about the literary and cultural side of Sikandar Lodī's reign which is not to be found in any history.

9. Of Akbar-Nāma (Bib Ind Series Pub, Litho Ed Lucknow, translation by H. Beveridge; Elliot VI p1 ff) and Āīn-i Akbari (Delhi Text; tr by Gladwin; by Blochmann and Jarrett), the latter is regarded as a separate work by Blochmann. The former was completed in 1004/1596, in the

41st year of Akbar's reign. The Akbarnāma which begins with an account of Bābar's life (Ch VII Vol. I) gives a short summary of Bābar's Indian expeditions. The second Vol. of Aīn (tr) is of great help to us in identifying place names from the statistical lists and constructing the history of the rise of the Lodīs specially the place and date of Bahlul's birth.

10. Tārīkhi Ḥaqq-i also called Zikri-i Mulūk (Bānkipore Ms; Elliot VI p.175 ff) by 'Abdul Ḥaq Ḥaqqi, a celebrated holy-man of Delhi, was completed in 1005 *i.e.* the 42nd year of Akbar's reign. It cannot be much relied upon for narrative and dates, because the author himself admits, that he wrote the portion of the book with which we are concerned, on oral tradition and observation.

11. Tārīkh-i Sher Shāhi or Tuḥfahāt-i Akbarshāhi (Ḥabībganj Ms, Bānkipore and A.S.B. Ms, Elliot p.301 Vol. IV) by 'Abbās Khān Sherwāni, a relative of Sher Shāh Sūr through his wife, was written by order of Emperor Akbar. Dr. Qānūngo considers it as an earlier work than Nizāmuddīn's Ṭabaqāti Akbari. Ni'matullah, Yādgār and 'Abdullah have taken materials and passages from it in connexion with Sher Shāh's reign. It is not of much use for Lodi history except in connexion with the last struggle of the Paṭhāns under Maḥmūd Lodi against Bābar whom 'Abbās names as Humāyūn and the gradual rise of the second Paṭhān Empire.

12. Tārīkh-i Salātīn-i Afāghana also known as "Tārīkh-i Lodi wa Sūri" (A.S.B. Ms; Buhār Ms;

Elliot Vol. V p.1 ff printed by A.S.B. Cal under the title "Tārīkh-i Shāhi,") of Aḥmad Yādgār, a Paṭhān, who as he says in the introduction, wrote it by order of Dāūd Shāh King of Bengal 980-84/ 1572-76 to equal the works of Minhāj Sirāj or Afīf and thus perpetuate the name of his patron. The book was finished sometime after the composition of the Tabaqāt-i Akbari, to which he acknowledges his indebtedness and before 'Abdullah's work, most probably in some city of Bengal. It begins from Bahlul Lodi's history and ends with the capture and execution of Hemū.

The style is simple and sometimes un-Persian, and full of mistakes, which, I am afraid, are not all due to the negligence of the scribe. There are columns for dates which were seldom filled, and hence there are fewer dates. For the reigns of Bahlul and Sikandar Lodī, the book is very unreliable, and is a mixture of history and bazar gossip, all combined in a desultory manner, including some incredible stories, as men having tails, drinking water coming from small trees with big leaves, or Sulṭān Sikandar having resurrected the dead. But he is unexpectedly very careful and historical in his treatment of Sultān Ibrāhīm's reign and provides much new information which is not to be found in any history. He is the first historian to point out the relation of the Lodī Sultāns with Mewār.

The Ms in the A.S.B. Lib is comparatively modern, and, I presume, was copied from the Buhār (Imperial Lib, Calcutta) Ms at one stage or another,

because the errors are common to both and more frequent in the A.S.B. Ms which though more easily readable, was written by a less accomplished scribe.

13. Rauzat-ut-Tāhirīn (A.S.B. Ms; J.R.A.S. Cal New Vol. 13, 1917 p.269 Elliot Vol. VI, 195), is a general history by Ṭāhir Muḥammad, commenced in 1011/1603, three years before Akbar's death and concluded in 1015/1606 in the reign of Jahāngīr. Book IV concerns rulers of India.

14. Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh or Aḥsan-ut Tawārikh (Buhār Ms; Elliot Vol VI, 195), general history of India by Ḥasan b Muḥammad al-Khaki Shirāzi completed in the 5th year of Jahāngir's reign (1015/ 1610).

15. Tārīkh-i Ferishta, Tārikh-i Ibrāhīm Ṣhāhi or Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmi (A.S.B. Ms; Lucknow, Bombay and Poona Lith Ed; Urdu tr Newalkishore, Hyderabad Deccan; Eng tr by Briggs, Elliot VI 207 ff) by Abul Qāsim Muḥammad Hindū Shāh Ferishta Astrabādi, who wrote his work some time in 1609-1610/1018 H under the patronage of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr to whom he dedicated the book, begins from the Muslim invasion of India and continues upto 1015/1607, with a short reference to Hindu history at the beginning. This work is better known among the Europeans than any other mediaeval Indian history and even cited as an authority for the early Muslīm rulers of India. Though he was a man of learning and historical perspective, his work is closely based upon Niẕāmuddīn's Ṭabaqāt even in his treatment of provincial dynasties.

His work is valuable so far as it appertains to the provincial dynasties of the Deccan. He has treated the rise of the Lodīs better than any other historian has done. Elliot praises his restraint in withholding praises for his patron. There are two Mss of Ferishta in the M.U. Aligaṛh Lib, one copied in mid-nineteenth century is beautifully written and has fewer textual errors than the printed editions.

16. Tārīkh-i Dāūdi (Bānkipore Ms; Elliot IV p.434) by 'Abdullah beginning with Bahlul Lodi and ending with the defeat and death of Dāūd Shāh (1575) at Akbar's hand written in the reign of Jahāngir (C/f p.45 of Bānkipore, Ms.) seems to be an earlier work than Ni'matullah's Makhzan, and is based on Ṭabaqāt-i Akbari, Tārīkh-i Salātīn-i Afāghana and Ferishta. Like Yādgār's it is a curious mixture of serious history and incredible stories. Himself being a Paṭhāns, the chief aim of the author has been to flatter the Paṭhāns at the expense of the Mughals. He tries to emulate Abul Fazl in shrouding Sikandar Lodī with all sorts of super-natural virtues, and characterise his reign as an earthly bliss. I consulted this Ms in Khudā Bukhsh Oriental Library, Bānkipore from which I am informed, a copy has been made by the Allahabād University Library.

17. Tārīkh-i Khān Jahāni Makhzan-i Afaghāni[1] (Bānkipore, and Alig Mss, Tr by Dorn,: Elliot V., 67 ff) by Ni'matullah of Herāt, son of Ḥabibullah, was begun on Feb. 23, 1612, and

(1) Vide art in the Proc of Indian Hist Cong Hyderabād, p 377 entitled 'Two Aligaṛh Mss of Makhzan-i Afghāni'.

finished on Feb. 1, 1613, in Burhānpūr, in Khāndesh, under the patronage of K͟hān Jahān Lodī, a noble of Jahāngīr, and governor of the Province of Berār. It consists of a Muqaddamah, seven chapters and a K͟hātimah. The Muqaddamah deals with the ancestory and genealogy of the Israelite tribes, which the author claims to be the special feature of his book. The sixth is concerned with the life of K͟hān Jahān Lodī, the seventh with the early years of Jahāngīr's reign. The K͟hātimah deals with the life of Afg͟hān saints. The third chapter only embodies the history of the Lodīs and the Sūris.

Dorn's translation of the work is defective, based as it is, on an incomplete manuscript. The writer of this monograph shares the views of Elliot, in regarding the Mak͟hzan and the Tārik͟h, as one and the same work. The full title of the work is Tārīk͟h-i K͟hān-Jahāni Makhzan-i Afg͟hāni, and any other title is the abbreviation of the full one. The author does not consider the Tārīk͟h as a revised version of the Mak͟hzan. (Cf Proceedings of Indian History Congress Hyderabād Deccan, 1941, p 377 ff).

The Paṭhān genealogy was supplied to Ni'matullaḥ by one Hai'at K͟hān Kākar, an officer of K͟hān Jahān Lodi, who sent 'trustworthy men, for its collection in Roh. Perhaps the cost of writing the book was first financed by Haibat K͟hān Kākar of Sāmāna. His Afg͟hān genealogy cannot be accepted by any sensible man as correct historically. His treatment of Afg͟hān saints is based on history and hearsay, and it is difficult to believe if all holy men

described as Paṭhān by the author were really so. The portion on the history of the Lodīs (third Chapter), is a neat and well-arranged narration of facts, without a single bazār gossip or incredible stories, so common in the works of Maulāna Rizqullah Mushtāqi, Aḥmad Yādgār or 'Abdullah. The book gives a full and detailed account of Sikandar and Ibrāhīm Lodi. The account of Ibrāhīm prior to his contact with Bābar is not very satisfactory in the Tabaqāt of Niẓāmuddīn. The language is easy and unpretentious and the text is well supplied with dates. Though the author seems to have consulted all extant works of his time including some whose existence have been unknown to us, he seems to have depended chiefly on Niẓāmuddin's Tabaqāt, Badāūni's Muntak̲h̲ab, and 'Maulāna Ābdul Ḥaq's Ak̲h̲bār-ul-Ak̲h̲iār. Ni'matullah was not himself a Paṭhān. He wrote the history of the Paṭhāns to please his patron and draw a handsome reward.

18. Maāsir-i-Rahīmi (Bib Ind Pub, Elliot VI 237 ff), by 'Abdul Bāqi Nehāwandi, was completed in 1025/1616, in Jahāngir's reign in K̲h̲āndesh, under the patronage of K̲h̲ān K̲h̲ānān 'Abdur Rahīm. It is a general history of India upto Jahāngir's reign with an account of the provincial dynasties and of K̲h̲ān K̲h̲ānān 'Abdur-Rahīm. The history of the Lodīs is exhustively treated with materials from the Ṭabaqāt and sometimes sentences are copied without acknowledgement. In many respects the book is a duplication of the Tabaqāt.

19. Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh[1] (A.S.B. and Hyderabād, Deccan, Mss, Elliot VI Ms, 182), is a general history of India by Nūr-ul Ḥaq, and an enlarged edition of his father 'Abdul Ḥaq Ḥaqqī's history commencing with Sul Quṭbuddīn's reign upto the close of Akbar's reign, with extracts from Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri, Tār Fīruz Shāhi, Tār Mub Shāhi and Akbarnāma.

20. Ṣubḥ-i Ṣādiq (Bānkipore Ms, Elliot VI, 453 ff) is a very voluminous and comprehensive universal history from the time of creation on the lines of, perhaps, the Tarīkh-i Alfi, and completed according to the author, after 7 years of labour in 1048/1638, *i.e.* in the 7th year of Shāhjahān's reign and divided into 4 volumes of which the 4th is concerned with the history of India. The work was dedicated to Prince Shāh Shuja,' s/o Emperor Shāh Jahān and perhaps written at Dacca (Jahāngīrnagar) or Rājmahal as is evidenced from the long sojourn of the author in Bengal. Though not adding to our knowledge, it is the best universal history to treat of the subject of India. The details are full and taken from Ferishta and Ṭabaqāt mainly.

21. Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, (A. S. B. Ms; Bānkipore Ms; Elliot VI, p.476 ff) by Muḥammad Yūsuf b Shāh Raḥmatullah al-Attoki—a universal history dedicated to Shāhjahān and completed in 1056/1646, contains only extracts from other authors chiefly from Niẓāmuddīn and Ferishta and acknowledged by the author.

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(1) Literwally the 'Cream of History.'

22. Mujmal-i Mufaṣṣil (Bānkipore) by Muḥammad Barāri written in 1056/1656, is a universal history with a brief account of the Lodīs. The shortcomings are those common to the writers of universal history. The new feature of the book is this that like Arab historians esp Sayūti, the author mentions the date of death of the great men, nobles, scholars and saints under each reign.

23. Mirat-ul-'Ālam and Mirat-i Jahānumā (Bānkipore, Elliot V, 145) by Muḥammad Baqā of Sahāranpūr was completed in 1078/1667. Both the books are one and the same. A new name was given to Mirat-ul-'Ālam by Muḥammad Sharīf who revised it 1095 to enhance his prestige. It is a compendium of history with only three pages to the Lodis.

24. Lubb-ut-Tawārikh (M.U. Ms, Bānkipore Ms, Elliot VII p.168) by Rāi Bindrāban, s/o Rāi Bihārmal written in 1696, is an earlier work than Sujjān Rāi's Khulāṣat. Its Lodi portion is a copy or summary of Ferishta

25. Mukhtaṣir-ut-Tawārīkh (Elliot VIII p.1 ff) is of unknown authorship and undated. I could not consult this history, but if Sujjān Rāi's Khulāṣat is a mere copy of it, I may say the author was a Hindū, for the materials in connexion with Sikandar Lodi's reign are written from Hindū point of view.

26. Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh (Bānkipore; edited by K.B. Ẓafar Ḥasan; Elliot VIII) by Sujjān Rāi Bhandāri of Batāla, (a tahṣil town in Gurdāspūr

district, Puṇjāb), is a general history of India from the earliest times to the 40th year of Aurangzib's reign, completed in 1695/6 A.D. Though based on Ferishta and is a copy of the Muḵẖṭaṣir, it contains information of Sikandar Lodi's orthodox legislations. There are four Mss in the M.U. Lib and I saw two in Ḥabībganj, in the private Lib of Nawwāb Ṣadr Yār Jang Ḥabībur-Rahmān Ḵẖān Sherwānī, about 24 miles east of 'Aligaṛh.

27. Jinnat-ul-firdaus (Bānkipore, Elliot VIII) contains chronological tables of Muslim dynasties from the beginning to 1226/1715, by Mirza Muḥammad Yūsufi, composed in 1715 A.D. but completed in 1284/1828-9, by Tajammul Ḥusain who added the 7th and 8th chapters. The book possesses the advantage of having all dates, regarding the birth, accession, death, duration of reign of a king etc., in one place and might have formed one of the main authorities for Lane-Poole's "Mohammaden Dynasties." There is nothing new in it, and columns are left blank where no date was available. It is not free from the confusion between lunar and solar dates.

28. Haft Gulshan (Bānkipore, P13 Elliot VIII) a general history of India from the earliest times upto 1719, including the provincial dynasties was compiled by Muhammad Hādi, entitled Kāmwār Ḵẖān.

29. Hadiqatus-ṣafa (Bānkipore Ms), a universal history upto 1173/1759 by Yūsuf 'Ali b Ḡẖulām 'Alī, contains chapters on Indian ruling dynasties, with fragmentary notice of the Lodīs

30. Chahār Gulshan or Akhbār-ul-Nawādir (Bānkipore Ms; Elliot, VIII, 255) by Chhtarman 1173/1759 is a history from the earliest times upto the end of Shāhjahān II's reign 1173/1759.

31. Siyar-ul-Mutākherīn (Lucknow, Cal, editions Elliot VIII p.193) by Ghulām Ḥusain Tabaṭabāi, includes the history of Hindū India, completed in 1195/1780, and dedicated to Warren Hastings. The first volume of the book which is the introductory portion, is a verbatim copy word for word, sentence for sentence of Sujjān Rāi's Khulāsat. An abbreviated edition of the book was published by Munshi 'Abdul Karīm under the name of Mulakhaṣ-ut-Tawārīkh.

32. Baḥr-ul-Mawwāj (Bānkipore, Elliot Vol. VIII, 235) by Muḥammad 'Alī Khān upto the death of Muḥammad Shāh 1748, contains fragmentary notice of the Lodī kings.

Modern works.

Persian.

1. Mirat-i-Āftābnūmā (Bānkipore, A. S. B. 'Aligaṛh) by 'Abdur-Raḥmān better known as Shāh Nawāz Khān, composed 1803.
2. Mujmal-i Hindi (Ḥabībganj Ms) 1249/1833), by Sayyid Muḥammad Muḥsin 'Alī Rizvī of Mashad, almost a reproduction of Ferishta.
3. Gulshan-i Hind (M. U. Ms) 1262/1845, by an unknown Lucknow author.
4. Miftāḥ-ut-Tawārīkh by Beale Lith Ed Āgra, 1849, useful for chronograms.

5. Tārīk̲h̲-i K̲h̲urshīd-i Jahān, Lahore 1849, of Sher Muḥammad K̲h̲ān.
6. Tārīk̲h̲-i Sultāni (Lith) of Sulṭān Muḥammad K̲h̲ān Durrāni.
7. K̲h̲ulāṣat-ul-Anṣāb by Ḥāfiz Raḥmat K̲h̲ān 1184/1770.
8. Naṣab-i Afg̲h̲āna by Ḥāfiz Raḥmat K̲h̲ān.

Urdu.

1. Ḥayāt-i Afg̲h̲ānī (Lahore 1867) by Muḥammad Ḥayāt K̲h̲ān Bahādur, a very well-written and critical work.
2. Tarīk̲h̲-i Afg̲h̲ānā (2 Vols)—Shihābuddīn.
3. Tārīk̲h̲-i-Hind-Zakaullah.
4. Tuḥfat-ul-Pushtun—Mawaji Ḥusain K̲h̲ān.
5. Ṣūlat-i Afg̲h̲āni-Muḥammad Darāz K̲h̲ān.
6. Naṣab-i Afg̲h̲ānān—Nawwāb 'Abdus-Salām K̲h̲ān.
7. Gulistān-i Hind—Rāja Durga Prasad. Pub,1867

Biographies.

1. Ak̲h̲bār-ul Ak̲h̲iyār	Maulānā 'Abdul Ḥaq (Ḥaqqi), Delhi Pub. A biography of Saints, written in Akbar's time.
2. Hālāt-i Sayyid Salār Mas'ūd G̲h̲āzi M.U.Ms.	'Abdur Rahmān Chishti 'Alvi. (written in Jahangir's time.)
3. Sayyid-ul Siyar M.U.Ms.	G̲h̲ulām Aḥmad Mash-hūd, Rāmpūri. (18th Cen).
4. Kabīr Ṣāhab (Urdu).	Manohar Lāl Zutshi, Hindi Acad, Allahabād.
5. Kabīr Janam Sākhi.	Muḥammad K̲h̲alīl Anṣāri.

6. Sant Kabīr (Hindi) — Rām Mukund Varma. Sāhitya Bhawan, Prayāg.

English.

Von Kremer	The Orient under the Caliphs Tr Khuda Bakhsh.
Ishwari Prasad	History of the Qurauna Turks.
Sarkar, J.N.	Mughal Administration.
Qānūngo, K.R.	Sher Shāh.
Smith, V.A.	Akbar the Great Mugul.
Tripathi R.P.	Some Aspects of Muslim Administration.
Thomas	Revenue Resources of the Moghul Empire.
Roger	Indian Muslim Coins.
Wright, H.N.	Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum II.
Wāḥid Husain	Administration of Justice during Muslim Rule in India.
Muḥammadullah	Administration of Justice of Muslim Law.
'Abdul Ḥaq	Influence of Sufis in the development of Urdu Literature. Auragabād, Deccan. (Urdu)
Arnold	Preaching of Islām.
Browne	Literary History of Persia, Vol.II.
Nicholson	Literary History of the Arabs.
Titus	Indian Islām.
Lammens	Islamic Beliefs and Practices.
Elliot	Memoirs of the Races of the North Western Provinces. 2 Vols.
Muir	Caliphate—its Rise, Decline and Fall.

Arnold	Caliphate.
Aghnides	Mohammaden Theories of Finance.
Dorn	Tr of Makhzan-i Afghānī.
Elphinstone	History of India.
Erskine	History of India Vol. I.
Thomas	Chronicles of the Paṭhān Kings of Delhi.
Haig	Cambridge History of India Vol. III.
Elliot	History of India Vols. IV-VIII.
Rushbrook-Williams.	Bābar.
Holdich	Indian Borderland.
Ferrier	History of the Afghāns-
Malleson	History of Afghānistān.
Elphinstone	Account of the Kingdom of Kābul and its dependencies.
Lacoste	Around Afghānistān.
Tate	The Kingdom of Afghānistān.
Starr	Frontier-folk of the Afghān Border.
Wood	Afghānistān and the Punjāb.
Mac Mun	Afghānistān (Chs I & II).
Bellew	Afghānistān (1862).
Bellew	Afghānistān and the Afghāns 1879.
Bellew	Races in Afghānistān 1880.
Oliver	Across the Border—Afghān and Baloch.
Biddulph	Tribes of the Hindukush.
Pogson	History of the Bundelas.

Local Histories.

K̲h̲airuddīn Allahabādi	Jaunpūr-nāma (M. U. & A. S. B. Ms also lithographed)—Common-place work and quite unreliable for the chronology of the Muslim period.
-do- -do-	Tārīk̲h̲-i Gwāliār (A.S.B. Ms).
-do- -do-	Tazkirat-ul-Ulama.
Bayley	Local Mohammdan Dynasties (Tr of Mirat-i Sikandari).
Stewart	History of Bengal.
Malet	History of Sind. Tr. of Tārīk̲h̲-i Māṣūm-i.

Gazetteers and Encyclopaedias.

1. U.P. District Gazetteer.
2. Imperial Gazetteer.
3. Thornton's Gazetteer.
4. Punjab Settlement Report.
5. Ibbeston—Punjab Census Report, 1881
6. Bengal District Gazetteer.
7. N.W.P. District Gazetteer.
8. C.P. District Gazetteer.
9. MacGregor—Gazetteer of Afg̲h̲anistān.
10. Encyclopaedia Brittannica.
11. Encyclopaedia of Islām.
12. Encyclopaedia of India, Belfour, Madras, in 4 volumes.

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APPENDIX

Origin of the Afg͟hāns and the Paṭhāns.

It is too vast and rich a subject ot be properly dealt with here in a few pages. The opinions of the orientalists and the claims of the Afg͟hāns are so conflicting that any conclusion on this point which is at variance with the latter's time-honoured tradition will not only be rejected but resented. As the Rājpūts believe in their descent from the sun, the moon or the fire, so almost every Afg͟hān and Paṭhān believes in his being an Israelite. How touchy and insistent they are on this point may be gleaned from the pages of 'Naṣab-i Afg͟hānā' by Nawwāb 'Abdus-Salām K͟hān of Rāmpūr who had collected a magnificent library including a rich store of Paṭhān history and literature of his own and bequeathed the whole lot to the government of Afg͟hānistān with whose people alone, he thought, he had racial affinity). The gift fortunately could not reach its destination on account of the disturbances in the country caused by the usurpation of the throne by Bachcha Saqqa. The whole lot is lying in the Aligaṛh Muslim University Library. Repeatedly and insistently with all the force at his disposal, he had tried to prove that the Afg͟hāns are the chil-

dren of Israel. The subject is very interesting however, and presents a very striking resemblance to the legendary origin of the Rājpūts.

The controversial aspect of the problem is increased when we bear in mind that scarcely two European scholars hold the same view. Some think that the Afghāns are the children of Israel, some that they are Persians and Turks, some that they are Caucasians or Georgians or Armenians; Ibn Khuldūn traced their descent from the Kalmūks; some following the Greek historians ascribe to them an indigenous origin, some think they are the children of the Indian colonists settled in Gandhara; some that they are the children of the Greek soldiers left by Alexander, the Great; Ferishta following Matla-al-Anwār, identified them with those Copts who rebelled against Moses and made a common cause with Pharaoh and suffered exile in consequence, while advocates of their Albanian descent are by no means wanting.[1] The theories regarding their origin minus those which have not been seriously advocated can be scientifically arranged as follows.

(1) In favour of their indigenous origin (Dorn, Tate); (2) Foreign descent as Hebrews, Indians or Irānian; (3) of a mixed descent as Turko-Irānian or Indo-Irānian; (Haig) (4)Turks, Irānians and Indians mixed in one. I shall analyse as far as practicable

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1. Dorn Tr of Makhzan, notes on p. 71; M. Raffin was a strong advocate of their origin from the "Albanians of Asia." *Vide* Ferrier, History of the Afghāns p.1-2

the different theories historically and without prejudice.

The word 'Afghānistān' signifying the land of the Afghāns, is of comparatively recent origin and came in use in the mid-eighteenth century when the Afghāns under Aḥmad Shāh Durrāni became the dominant race in Afghānistān. The word was coined by foreigners to signify the land of the Afghāns but it is misleading in significance, for, the Afghāns are only one of the major races who inhabit the country—the other two being the Tājiks or Persians and the Turks or Tārtars. Afghāns as such will never name their country as Afghānistān but will call themselves residents of Kābul, Ghaznī or Jalālabād or Pashtuns or Pakhtuns, that is, the people speaking the Pashto or Pakhto language and will single themselves out as being members of this or that tribe. In India the words Afghān and Paṭhān are indifferently used to signify a people who are Pashto speaking. Recently, in Afghanistan, a distinction is being made between Afghans and Paṭhāns. The former is reserved for those of Durrāni descent to whom only is ascribed Jewish origin, the latter for those who speak Pashto but are of a mixed descent. This distinction is recent and of little more than academic interest and is attributable to the pride of position which the Durrānis as a ruling race have attained in Afghanistan. The Pashto speaking people call themselves Pushtāna (plural of Pashtūn) or Pukhtāna (plural of Pakhtūn),[1] in Qandahāri and Peshāwari

1. Bellew, Races in Afghānistān p.56-7.

dialects respectively. Their country which they in their homely idiom call Pashtunkhwa or Pakhtunkhwa, is the country of 'Roh,' whose exact boundary is too vague to admit of a clear definition. 'Roh' in Pashto and western Punjābi means a 'koh', a mountain (whence the word Rohilla, a mountaineer) and in fact means a mountainous country which according to Bellew[1] and others comprised all the country of the Sulaimān and Sufed Koh Ranges, extending northwards to the head-waters of the Swāt and Panjkora rivers down to Jalālabād. The south comprised the Kākar country with the Pishīn and Shāl districts of British Balochistān and the Bori valley to the Indus. Its eastern limit was bounded by the Indus, the western by the Helmānd river, including Arachosia and Zābul (western Afghānistān) to the south of Ghaznī. The line of demarcation between the Pashto and Pakhto speaking people is the northern boundary of the Khattak tract in Kohāt and the south-east of the Peshāwar district. North of it dwell the Pakhto speakers, south the Pashto speakers.

Before discussing whether a distinction between the Afghāns and the Pāṭhāns is admissible, let us discuss the various derivatives of the words Afghān and Paṭhān. The word Afghān is supposed by Ni'matullah and other Paṭhān historians to originate from Afghān, a grand-son of Tālūt (King Saul). Nawwāb 'Abdus-Salām ascribed it to Aughān a famous wrestler in the time of Faridūn;

1. Bellew, Races in Afghānistān, p.60; Ibbetson, Punjab Census Report, 1881. p.166.

according to some[1] from 'Fughān,' lamentations. It is said that when the Afg̲h̲ān from Qandahar and Kābul who went to assist their brethren on the Indian frontier, then defending themselves against Jaipāl, the Rāja of Lāhore, returned to their homes, their inquisitive kinsmen asked about their brethren in danger, wherupon they replied "ask no more of them, there is nothing to tell you about except 'fug̲h̲ān,' (lamentations).

The word Paṭhān is supposed by many orientalist to originate from the Pictyans whom Herodotus observed as inhabiting the country of Pictyaea. Grierson following Tod found its origin in Paithān (Sanskrit Pratisṭhāna), one of the cities in India.

Ferishta found it on account of their settlement in Paṭhna though Paṭna would have been a more suitable place by its situation and sound. Others from Hindi "Pāṭhan," to drive, because they sent or drove away the native dwellers and seized their lands; from Arabic "Faṭhān," conquerors; from Pushta a mound or hill from their habitat in Sulaimān hills; from Batan s/o Qais 'Abdur-Rashīd; from Pusht, supposed to be a place in G̲h̲or; from "Paṭna" a synonym for uprooting used still in Sind-Sāgar Doāb, because they dispossessed the original dwellers.[2] The above arguments are mere opinions and do not stand the historical test. The word Paṭhān is derived from Pashtun or Pak̲h̲-

1. C/f Ḥayat-i-Afg̲h̲ānī p.109.

2. Ibid p.108; Bellew, Races in Afg̲h̲ānistān.

tun[1] of which the Indian corruption is Paṭhān. In fact this nomenclature is purely Indian and was applied to all westerners who came to India, after crossing the Sind. No Persian historian of India nor Bābar in his memoirs used the word 'Paṭhān'. In the Punjāb side they are spoken of colloqually as Rūmla (from Roh) and 'Rāsha', a Pashto abbreviated expression of courtesy. In northern India upto Bengal any stalwart man with baggy trousers sandals on foot, with a long thick knotted stick and speaking a strange tongue or Hindustāni with a strange accent is a K͟hān Sāhab. This is also the generic appelation of the settled Afg͟hāns in India. It was perhaps owing to this misconception, that all dynasties in India before the advent of the Mug͟hals were characterised as Paṭhāns. Properly speaking it is the name applied to the Pashto speaking people who came to the Indian soil and is applied to that race of people who claim a common descent with the Afg͟hāns as children of Israel. Though repudiated by the Durrāni Afg͟hāns, the Indian Paṭhāns claim themselves as more civilised and cultured than their kinsmen living in the west.

Ni'amatullah the author of Mak͟hzan-i-Afg͟hāni was the pioneer historian to claim for the Afg͟hāns Jewish descent, drawn through a well-prepared genealogy, which he brought from Afg͟hānistān, through 'very trustworthy agents', the occasion being, a scathing and filthy remark made by the Persian envoy in Jahāngir's court, as to the origin

1. Hayāt-i-Afghānī p.107

of the Afg̱hāns, whom he described as the children of the demons. According to Ni'matullah, the Afg̱hāns are the descendants of Tālut (King Saul), s/o Kish, fourth in descent from Jacob. It is said that Saul in his dotage abdicated the throne in favour of David and went to fight against the infidel rebels. He also put in charge of David two of his wives who were in expectant condition. Saul, it is asserted, met martyrdom while fighting, but the two wives, as predicted by him, gave birth to two sons the same day. One was named Arḵẖiyāh, the other Armiyāh. As they grew up, David made Arḵẖiyā the commander-in-chief of his army and Armiyā, his chief minister. Arḵẖiyā died leaving a son named Āṣif and Armiyā, a son named Afg̱hān. In the reign of Solomon which followed that of David, Āṣif was made the commander-in-chief in his father's place and Afg̱hān, chief minister. Afg̱hān was deputed by Solomon to superintend the buildings in Jerusalem especially the chief temple there. Afg̱hān became the father of 40 sons, and his progeny increased with such overwhelming rapidity as to get a dominant position in Syria and Palestine. That subsequently when Baḵẖt Naṣr (Nebuchadnezzar) king of Babylon invaded Palestine and sacked Jerusalem (586 B.C.), he carried as prisoners the twelve Israelite tribes descended from Afg̱hān and scattered them in Mȩdia and Ḵẖurāsān. That subsequently two of the twelve tribes returned to their homes, but the ten others continued their wanderings towards the east, and settled themselves in the mountainous country of G̱hor. That when

Muḥammad the Prophet waged war against paganism one of their kinsmen, K͟hālid ibn Walīd, *i.e.* an Israelite, became a convert after being a staunch opponent of Islām and obtained great distinction in the wars of the Prophet. This K͟hālid, it is claimed, invited his kinsmen from G͟hor, to come to Madīnah. Persuant to this in 9 A.H., a deputation of G͟hor Afg͟hāns led by Qais (Kish) went to Madīnah and became converts. The Prophet gave Qais the Muslim name of 'Abdur-Rashīd. This 'Abdur-Rashīd became a close companion of the Prophet and helped him in the capture of Makkah in which he distinguished himself by slaying 70 Makkans. This pleased the Prophet very much and he conferred on him the surname of 'Baṭān' which according to Ni'matullah means in Arabic or Hebrew the keel or the foundation plank of a boat, in recognition of the indispensability of his service to Islām, and the title of Malik. That this Qais 'Abdur-Rashīd, on his arrival at G͟hor, helped in the spread of Islām among his countrymen and died in 40 A.H. in the 89th year of his life. Qais is claimed by Ni'matullah to be 37th in line from Tālut, 45th from Ibrāhīm (Abraham) and 63rd from Ādam. Abdur-Rashīd left three sons through Sārah, a daughter of K͟halid ibn Walīd whom he had married, viz Sarban, Batan, and G͟hurg͟husht, from whom are descended all Paṭhāns. The list supplied by Ni'matullah has been presented in a reasonable form by Muḥammad Hayāt K͟hān in his 'Hayāt-i Afg͟hāni', as yet in my opinion, the best work on the complicated history

of the Afghāns and Paṭhāns. One modern Paṭhān historian who recently wrote a book, most laboriously supplied the missing link, viz a genealogical connexion of 'Abdur-Rashīd with Adam.

After the death of 'Abdur-Rashīd his children are noticed in the Sulaimān mountains. The reason is not explained. It is narrated that following the conquest of Ghor by Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, in the reign of the Caliph 'Abdul Mālik, one prince Shāh Ḥusain, a scion of the ruling house, fled from Ghor and took shelter with Shaikh Baṭan, s/o 'Abdur Rashīd, in the Sulaimān mountains. He was hospitably received by the host, treated with kindness and consideration so much so that Baṭan's sons began to call him brother. Shāh Ḥusain developed an intimacy with Bībī Matto, daughter of Baṭan. When signs of pregnancy became visible, Baṭan's wife induced her husband to marry the girl with the young man, and save themselves from ignominy of its publicity among neighbours. At first Shaikh Baṭan refused a match with a stranger of plebian birth upon which the prince remonstrated that he was of royal descent and presenting his ring he asked for an enquiry to be made about him in Ghor. Kāghdaur, an agent of Baṭan was sent to Ghor to verify the claim. On his return back he told Shaikh Baṭan that he would speak the truth on condition of his marrying his daughter Bībī Māhi. Shāh Ḥusain married Bibi Matto and afterwards Bibi Māhi.[1] In course of time Bibi Matto gave birth to a son who was named Ghil-zoe, ghil, thief; zoe corrupted into zai, a son or a thief's son, in token

(1) After Bibi Matto's death.

of his birth through illicit connexion. Some time after Bībī Māhi gave birth to a son named Sarwān. Bībī Matto had become the mother of a second son named Ibrāhīm. It is narrated that when Shaikh Batan shifted, as every Afghān and Baloch does, on the borders to his mountain abode during the summer, he asked his wife to cook bread, in order to test the intelligence of his grandsons. His wife made breads from the oven whose fire was found miraculously alive after 6/7 months. Baṭan wishing to be fed, Ibrāhīm ran to the oven and brought hot breads for Baṭan. This intelligence of the boy pleased Baṭan very much, and he addressed Ibrāhīm and said "Ibrāhīm loe diae," Ibrāhīm you are great. From this episode Ibrāhīm began to be called "Lodī" and lived to become the progenitor of the Lodī Afghāns.

That the Paṭhāns *i.e.* the children of Qais 'Abdur-Rashīd helped the Arabs in the conquest of Sind, Multān and Sistān, and acquired supreme position when the first 'national dynasty' was established under the Ghorids. Other accessory Paṭhān claims in support of their Jewish origin are as follows.

That prior to their conversion to Islām the Afghāns helped Abrahā, the Abyssinian king, on the occasion of his investment of Makkah with elephants from Ghor.

That the Afghāns are called Sulaimāni among the Arabs, in recognition of their descent from Prophet Sulaimān.

That on the occasion of Nādir Shāh's return from India, the Yūsufzais presented him with scriptures and sacred books written in Hebrew.

That the Pashto Language was taught by demons to Prophet David to assist him in deliberating matters which demanded secrecy.

That Jewish personal and place names found in abundance among the Paṭhāns such as Dāūd, Yūsuf, Sulaimān, Yāqūb, Israīl, Dasht-i Lūt, Takht-i Sulaimān, Qila-i Yahūdi are but proofs of their Jewish origin.

That the Afghāns and Paṭhāns hate the Jews and yet feel proud to call themselves Israelites.

That only Jewish people had been told of the advent of Muḥammad, and the people who went to Madinah from Ghor could not but be Jews.

That if they are not the children of the Jews, then what happened to the ten lost tribes?

That they have genealogical proofs as to their origin and ramification orally transmitted from generation to generation which are as authentic as any written history.

These claims, unfortunately, when historically examined do not stand the test of criticism. In the first place, supposing the Afghān genealogy as to their origin is true, Tālūt (Saul) who traced his descent from Jacob was not a Jew. According to Prof. Dawson, Saul was of the tribe of Benjamin. There is no reference in the Old Testament of Arkhiyah and Armiyah, being sons of Tālūt. Four of Saul's sons perished in the encounter with

the infidels along with him. David wishing to repay the children of Saul discovered with great difficulty a grand-son of Saul named Yunāsān, son of the only surviving lame son of Saul. The name of David's commander-in-chief was Y'ād s/o Saruya. Arkhiyah and Armiyah are never mentioned as names of the notables of Israel. Again there was no commander-in-chief of Solomon named Afghān from whom Ni'matullah and others trace the name of their nation. After David's assassination by Solomon, Banāya s/o Yahūda became the commander-in-chief. Afghān is nowhere mentioned as the superintendent of construction of Jerusalem in the Book of Kings where an account of the construction of Jerusalem is given.[1] If the Afghāns had acquired great numerical strength, they ought to have been mentioned with other Jewish tribes. If the Afghāns are the children of the ten lost Israelite tribes scattered by Nebuchadnezzar, there is no good in tracing their descent from one individual *viz* Qais 'Abdur-Rashīd. Abdur Rashīd is merely a legendary figure. If he had played so important a part as is attributed to him, or if he had been a close compainon of the Prophet, he would have been mentioned in the biographies of the Prophet or survived in tradition. It is a poor argument to say that his name has been omitted because the traditions began to be collected in time of the Abbasid Caliphs.

Then Baṭān or Paṭhān is to be found in no Arabic or Hebrew dictionaries to signify the keel or rudder

(1) C/f Hayāti Afghani p.108.

of a boat, and supposing it was so, the title would have been widely known among all nations. Then K̲h̲ālid ibn Walīd was a pure Quraish, tracing descent from 'Abdus-Shams and never a Jew. The chain from Adam (63rd) Abraham (45th) and Saul (37th), is too short for the space of time to be covered. Again there is no evidence of the title being conferred by the Prophet. If the Afg̲h̲āns lived for centuries ever since their deportation by Nebuchadnezzar in the hills of G̲h̲or up to the time of Qais 'Abdur-Rashid, what led them to so swiftly move from G̲h̲or to Qandahār, and from Qandahār to the Sulaimān hills, after his death? The story of the amorous connexion of prince Shāh Ḥusain with Bībī Matto seems to be a story symbolical of the foreign origin of the G̲h̲ilzais and Lodi's and the conviction is further increased when we bear in mind that the children born of Matto are known as Matti after her and are not named after the father. Again there is considerable doubt as to whether Arab conquest reached G̲h̲or. The Arab invasion conducted by Muḥammad Qāsim did not go beyond the Salt Range and as regards the conquest of G̲h̲or by Hajjāj there is no conclusive evidence. The G̲h̲orid princes were not Paṭhāns. Even authorities like Erskine,[1] Malleson, Brown and Dorn fell under the same error. They trace their descent from Zuḥḥāk, the Persian.

Equally untrue are their other claims in favour of their helping Abrahā with elephants of which

(1) History of India Vol. I p.403.

I do not think that hills in Afghanistān contains any; their presenting Nādir Shāh with scriptures in Hebrew language, the story of the origin of the Pashto language, and other contentions are equally absurd. They are called Sulaimānīs not in recognition of their descent from the Prophet Sulaimān but by reason of their sojourn in the Sulaimān mountains. There is nothing unusual in the place and personal names which are purely Muslim names. Their genealogy is fabricated. Even Bellew and Thornburn admit of its fabrication. Tate thinks this genealogy to have been prepared in the 15th century when they had a national dynasty ruling over India. It may be quite possible that the claim of a Jewish descent was made during the period of Arab domination of Sistān whose boundary was not the same as now and must have included a considerable part of Afghānistān. The Paṭhāns invented it only to be treated in a fair way by producing claims of a Semitic descent of their connexion with the Prophet, because under the Umayyads, the Persians and non-Arabs were relegated to an inferior position and were regarded as Mawwālis. Now a genealogy orally transmitted for 2/3 thousand years is bound to abound in accuracies and absurdities.

To sum up our observations, there is no truth so far, historically of their Israelite origin, and Qais 'Abdur-Rashīd is at best a legendary hero. Their claim is as fictitious as the claim of the Balochīs being the children of Amīr Hamza.

But there are certain other points in connexion with the physical formation, mode of living and customs of the Afghān people which have been cited by them and supported by European writers in favour of their Jewish origin.

1. Like the Jews the Afghāns have marked heavy faces, thick eyebrows, acquiline noses and some times red beards. The women are beautiful like the Jews and have ruddy faces and prefer black dress.

2. The presence of brachy-cephalic heads in large number among them.

3. Their national dress consisting of baggy trousers with loose tunic and sandals on foot.

4. Their usurious habits.

5. Their national character and habits for which I refer to page 60 of Bellew's Races in Afghānistān which is quoted by Malleson (in Afghānistān) and by Ibbetson in the Punjāb Census Report 1881 (page 200) and Balfour's Indian E/Cyc. IV p.452.

6. Their non-observance of any distinction between a betrothal ('mangni') and marriage.

7. The younger brothers like the Jews, marrying, as a custom given the force of law, their elder brother's widow.

8. Their practice of marrying within their fold; to marry a daughter to a stranger is regarded dishonourable.

9. Their observance of the Jewish Pass-Over 'Festival which they call 'Id-i-Fasakh.

10. Their practice of sacrificing sheep or goat to avert a calamity and besmearing the door-ways with its blood.

11. Periodic division of property.

12. Unbounded reverence for the tombs of saints.

13. Custom of serving the would-be-Father-in-law (C/f Jacob pastured the flocks of his father-in-law for seven years before marriage.)

14. Their belief in a tyrant's getting out on the day of Resurrection with a burning oven on his head.

15. A custom, now-a-days getting obsolete, of placing the burdens of sin on a young calf and driving it to the wilderness.

16. Practice of offering 'fateha' with sweet bread.

17. Their practice of stoning to death adulterers and blasphemers.

The presence of brachy-cephalic heads and high noses cannot be conclusive proof of their Jewish origin and according to Ujfalvy are found in a prominent manner in the portraits of the Kushāna kings in their coins. Besmearing the door-ways with the blood of the sacrificial animal is a practice among Muslims irrespective of their Jewish origin; I noticed it in many household in Bengal including my own. But there is one argument for which there is no answer. The language they speak *i.e.* Pashto is regarded as a branch of the Irānian group of languages. It is a mixed language consisting of modern Persian, Pahlavi, old Zend and Prākrit and Arabic in religious matters. Elphinstone traced 218 foreign words Persian, Sanskrit, Hindustāni, Hebrew, Baby-

lonian and Georgian. Muḥammad Ḥayāt Khān[1] found a few Punjābi words in it. Thus a language belonging to the Indo-Irānian stock cannot be the language of the Semitic people. The argument of the Paṭhāns and even of the so-called pure Afghāns that they forgot their Hebrew tongue on account of their being out-numbered by other people does not appear to be convincing. The Paṭhāns themselves say that they moved in batches. Hence there is no justification of their forgetting such common words as father, mother and brother.[2] That the Paṭhāns in India have forgotten Pashto by being outmunbered by Hindi or Persian speakers does not bear any analogy to their forgetting Hebrew. By the time the Afghāns evolved a national monarchy in India, Pashto was a merely colloquial language, with only one written book *viz* a History of Yusufzai's written in 1417 by Shaikh Malī. Moreover with them as well as with the Paṭhāns till late, Persian was the written language and the language of the court. Even now Pashto though having a literature is poor in expressions of curtesy or polite conversation.[3] If the Paṭhāns were the children of the Jews, they would have acquired habits and characteristics of an enslaved people. But they are just the opposite, bold, war-like, energetic and independence-loving.

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(1) Hayāti Afghāni.

(2) Pashto پلار father ; مور mother ; رور brother.

(3) Hayāti Afghāni p.110

Now as to the question who they are, Herodotus's notice of the Pictyean nation inhabiting Pictyea and being divided into four branches, the Apportae (identified as the Āfrīdi) the Sattygud-danae (the Khattaks) the Dadicae (the Dādi) and the Gandaridae (the Gandhāri) would make them the children of the soil. The question is to which race the 'Pictyeans' belonged. Taking it for granted that the region of modern Afghānistān was long dominated by the Macedonians, by the Indians under the Mauryas who have left behind many Buddhistic relics, by the Parthians and subsequently by the Sakas upto the 8th century A. D., the Afghāns and the Paṭhāns are a mixed race of Turko-Irānian descent with a considerable admixture of Indian blood. The story of Shāh Ḥussain in connexion with Bibi Matto and the claim of their origin through female branch is another proof of the mixed descent of the Ghilzais, the biggest of the Paṭhān tribes. But it must be noted that every Pashto speaking people is not an Afghān though every Afghān is a Pashto speaker. The hotch-potch of the Paṭhān is a generic appelation for a group of people speaking one language and observing one religion and some common social custom and as such it is not a nation by blood but by speech. Some tribes are Afghāns by affiliation and association and observance of common code of conduct. Thus the Ghilzais are a mixed people with a predominant Turkish tincture, Ghilzai being

held to be derived from Ḵẖilchi,[1] a Turkish synonym for a swordsman, derived again from Ḵẖalj, a sword. The Hazāras are Tārtars by birth, found in western Hindu-Kush, between Balḵẖ, Herāt and Qandahār, and the simple fact that there are some Sayyid tribes among the Paṭẖāns[2] conclusively prove their mixed origin.

If the Hebrew descent of the Afgẖāns and Paṭẖāns does not stand historically, it is difficult to accept the pretensions of the 'pure Afgẖāns,' that is the Durrānis being the children of the Jews.

(1) The official pronunciation of the Gẖilzais in Kābul and Qandahār is Gẖaleji.

(2) The Ushtarāni is a Sayyid tribe affiliated to the Sherāni clan.

The Lodi Dynasty. **Genealogical Table 1**

- Malik Bahram
  - Malik Sultan Shah (Islam Khan)=Bibi Matto
    - Qutb Khan
    - Shams Khatun
  - Malik Kala.
    - Bahlul Lodi Sultan 855-94 1451-1489
      - Barbak Shah
      - Mubarak Khan
        - Ahmad Khan
        - Sa'id Khan Lodi
        - Mahmud Khan
          - Jalal Khan
            - (Sultan) Alam Khan II
      - Alam Khan
        - Jalal Khan
          - (Sultan) Alam Khan II
        - Kamal Khan
        - Bhikan Khan
        - Khizr Khan
        - Haji Khan
        - Sher Khan
        - Tatar Khan
      - Kh. Bayazid
        - Azam Humayun
        - Ahmad Khan
      - Nizam Khan Sultan Sikandar 894-923 1489-1517 A. D.
        - Ibrahim Khan Sultan Ibrahim 923-932/1517-26
          - Son (dies in Babar's prison in Qandahar)
          - Daughter=Nasrat Shah King of Bengal 930-45/1523-38.
        - Jalal Khan
        - Ismail Khan
        - Husain Khan
        - Mahmud Khan King of Behar 1528 A. D.
        - Azam Humayun
      - Jamal Khan
      - Yaqub Khan
      - Mian Musa
      - Fath Khan
      - Jalal Khan
      - Daughter=Shaikh Abdullah S/o Shaikh Yusuf Ex-king of Multan, d 903 H.
        - Shaikh Ruknuddin (Shaikh-ul Islam of Delhi)
          - Abul Fath Ni'matullah Husaini Chishti
        - Sh. Hasan
  - Malik Firuz
    - Isa Khan
    - Shahin Khan
  - Malik Muhammad
  - Malik Khwaja
  - Daughter
    - Shaikh Muhammad Qurban (Kala Pahar)
      - Fath Malika=Shaikh Mustafa Farmali
        - Mihr Sultan
      - Mian Miamu

Genealogical Table II

Sayyid Kings of Delhi.

1. Khizr Khan, S/o Malik Sulaiman
May 28, 1414 to May 20, 1421.

2. Muizuddin
Mubarak Shah
Killed Jan. 20, 1434

Farid Khan

3. Muhammad Shah
died 1445.

Alauddin (Alam Shah)
1445-51 in Delhi;
dies in 883/1478
in Badaun

Malka Jahan
Bibi Khunza=
Husain Shah
of Jaunpur.

Ahsan

Abbas

Haidar

Genealogical Table III

Khalji Dynasty of Malwa.

1. Malik Mughis

2. Mahmud I, the Great
839-73/1435-68

Qadr Khan

3. Sul Ghiasuddin
873-906/1468-1500

Sul Naseruddin
906-916/1500-10.

Shuja't Khan

Shihabuddin

Azam Humayun Khan
Sul Mahmud II.
916-37/1510-1530.

Sahab Khan

Genealogical Table IV

The Langah Kings of Multan.

1. Qutbuddin Langah
(Rai Sihar Langah)
855-74/1451-69.

2. Husain Shah I
874-908/1469-1502.

3. Firuz Shah
908/1502

4. Muhammad Shah
908-931/1502-1525

5. Husain Shah II
931-32/1525-26.

Genealogical Table V

The Sharqi Dynasty of Jaunpur.

1. Khwaja Jahan Malik-us-Sharq
d 803/1400.

(Malik Qaranfal)
2. Mubarak Shah, adopted son
803-804/1400-1

3. Ibrahim Shah
brother of Mubarak Shah
804-44/1401-40

4. Mahmud Shah
844-62/1440-57

5. (Bhikan Khan)
Muhammad Shah
862-63/1457-58

Hasan Khan

6. (Husain Khan)
Husain Shah
863-88/1458-83, King of Jaunpur
888-901/1483-1495, King of Behar

Jalal Khan

Jamal Khan

Daughter of Nasrat = Jalal Khan (Sul Jalaluddin)
Shah King of Bengal

Empty title-holders

Sultan Mahmud

Umar Khan, Gov. of Jaunpur
during Akbar's time.

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